



Daily Report

East Europe

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Butrus-Ghali Sees FYROM's Gligorov, Mediators

AU0711142494 Paris AFP in English 1348 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Nov 7 (AFP) - UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali began talks here Monday with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov on the former Yugoslav republic's strained relations with its southern neighbour Greece, a UN spokeswoman said.

Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has been embroiled in a name dispute with Greece which refuses to recognize the former Yugoslav republic which bears the same name as a northern Greek province.

Indirect talks to resolve the dispute between the two countries were postponed last month because of legislative and presidential elections in Macedonia.

Following his meeting with Gligorov, Butrus-Ghali was to hold talks with UN mediators on the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. That meeting is to include Butrus-Ghali's special representative to former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg and the commander of the UN Protection Force General Bertrand de Lapresle.

UN spokeswoman Therese Gastaud said the meeting comes against a background of escalating violence in Bosnia, where government troops have gained ground on the separatist Serbs who seized control of 70 percent of the territory.

War Crimes Tribunal Holds First Public Session

AU0811103394 Paris AFP in English 1018 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, Nov 8 (AFP)—The international tribunal for war crimes in former Yugoslavia opened its first public audience Tuesday to examine a request to transfer Dusko Tadic, a Bosnian Serb now jailed in Germany, for trial in The Hague.

The request has been formulated by the court's prosecutor, South African judge Richard Goldstone, who has described Tadic as a key figure in "ethnic cleansing" campaigns against Moslems in parts of northwest Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Tadic was arrested in Munich in February 1994 and accused of having tortured to death at least 10 people in the Omarska prison camp in northwestern Bosnia where Serbs held some 3,500 Bosnian Moslems.

The German Federal Prosecutor's Office in the western city of Karlsruhe has said it would charge Tadic with genocide-related offences, to stop him walking free under a review German law prescribes for common law prisoners awaiting trial for nine months.

Rolf Hannich, spokesman at the German Prosecutor's Office, said this decision would have no bearing on his possible extradition before the international war crimes court in The Hague however.

Goldstone has argued that testimony collected against Tadic has not all been gathered in Germany and therefore might not be admissible in a trial there.

Three of the international tribunal's 11 judges will hear Goldstone's request Tuesday—Adolphus Karibi-Whyte of Nigeria, Claude Jorda of France and Elizabeth Odio-Beniot of Costa Rica.

Also present will be legal council to the German Justice Ministry Peter Wilkitzki and Tadic's lawyer, Stefan Ufer.

Monday night, the war crimes tribunal here handed down its first indictment against Dragan Nikolic, a Bosnian Serb who is still on the run who allegedly commanded a detention camp in Susica in northeast Bosnia.

Goldstone said an international arrest warrant was issued against Nikolic, also known as Jenki Nikolic. He is charged with committing crimes against humanity and with violating or ordering violations of the Geneva convention on treatment of civilians in wartime while camp commandant in the summer of 1992.

Goldstone said the indictment was transmitted Monday to the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as to administrative authorities in the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb Republic where the war crimes court believes Nikolic might be living.

PS Leader Announces Referendum Vote Result

AU0711190194 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 7 Nov 94

[Report by Artan Kutra on news conference held by the Socialist Party at its headquarters in Tirana on 7 November]

[FBIS Translated Text] In his speech at the news conference, Socialist Party [PS] Deputy Chairman Servet Pellumbi announced the preliminary figures on the referendum on the draft constitution and said that the alternative for which the PS worked together with other parties has yielded the following results:

[Begin Pellumbi recording] A total of 34-35 percent of the electorate have voted yes for the draft constitution, while 60-61 percent have voted no. Participation in the elections has been great, and is calculated to be 70-72 percent. A total of 5-6 voting slips were found invalid. [end recording]

Mr. Pellumbi then announced preliminary results even for other cities and districts in the country. He said that in general, the campaign was quiet, though there were special cases, which according to him did not considerably influence the course of the voting. The draft constitution was not approved, Mr. Pellumbi stressed further on; and for this he praised the prudence of the Albanian electorate.

He then said that violations of constitutional provisions that took place on the occasion of this referendum should be annulled; and added that this or another draft should be passed to the parliament for discussion, and then the parliament should decide on it. If parliament turns out to be unable to give the people a constitution, then the president of the Republic should decree the dissolution of the parliament.

Mr. Pellumbi expressed his assessment of President Berisha's position at his news conference, where he declared that he acknowledged the population's verdict.

[Begin Pellumbi recording] On this occasion, we would like to express our assessment of the position maintained by the president an hour ago at his news conference, in which he declared that he acknowledged the verdict of the people and that when the sovereign speaks, others remain silent—and should do so. We support such a position, if implemented by the president, and will do so in the future. [end recording]

The conference then continued with numerous questions and answers.

Asked about the situation of Fatos Nano, Mr. Pellumbi answered that this problem will be reexamined in the future.

Questioned by a reporter of Radio-Television of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] regarding their position toward neighbors, Mr. Pellumbi

answered that their position was already known: They are for a good-neighbor policy based on dialogue. He asked that rights be granted to Albanians in Macedonia.

Regarding [Kosovar President] Rugova's statement, he said that the statement lacked objectivity.

Answering a question about minorities in Albania, he said that minorities have been granted rights on the basis of international documents.

Parties Say Constitution Rejected in Referendum

AU0711130994 Paris AFP in English 1300 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, Nov 7 (AFP)—Albanian voters have rejected a liberal Western-style constitution in a referendum on constitutional reform held on Sunday, according to the main political parties.

Both the ruling Democratic Party (DP) and the main opposition group the Socialist Party (former communists) reported majorities against the proposals in the vote, which was marred by several incidents.

The referendum is viewed as the first major test for the country's President Sali Berisha since he came to power in April 1992.

The Central Electoral Commission had not released any official results by Monday afternoon beyond the turnout, which it put at 75 percent. Of Albania's 3 million inhabitants 1.9 million were entitled to vote and 1.5 million are thought to have done so. The outcome of the referendum is not expected to be known until Tuesday.

But the DP spokesman Sokol Balla estimated that 830,000 "no" votes had been cast, about 55 percent of the total. The Socialists put the "no" total at 62 percent.

Support for the reforms was strongest in the major cities, especially the capital Tirana, Shkoder and Dures. The Socialists said there were majorities for the "yes" camp in all three.

But in the south of the country, where Albania's large Greek minority is concentrated, most voters rejected the reforms according to both the DP and the Socialists.

The subject of the referendum was a draft constitution establishing Albania as a democratic state with a market economy, enshrining rights to private property and religious freedom and separating legislative, executive and judicial powers. It was the first referendum in Albania's history.

The Council of Europe had made adoption of the new constitution one of its preconditions for admitting Albania and sent several observers. But opposition parties attacked the draft constitution for giving too much power to the head of state and called either for a "no" vote or for a boycott.

One DP supporter was killed and several others injured in a number of separate incidents in different parts of the country, according to unconfirmed reports.

On Monday the DP claimed that four of its members had been injured, in circumstances that were not explained, in separate incidents at Lushnje, 40 kilometres (25 miles) south of Tirana, where three people were hurt, and Korca, 65 kilometres (40 miles) south of Tirana where one person was injured. No official confirmation of the claim was forthcoming.

On Sunday it had alleged that one of its officials had been knifed to death by two Socialist supporters at a polling station at Vig, 50 kilometres (30 miles) from Shkoder in the northwest of the country.

The Socialists said Monday that two of their observers had been arrested by police in a village near Lishnje, without giving any reason.

KQV Warns Against 'Unlawful' Release of Results

AU0711202894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 94

[Interview with Central Election Commission Secretary Arben Brace by correspondent Amalia Dhamo at Palace of Congresses in Tirana—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] We are here, speaking live from the Central Election Commission [KQV] for the referendum, which is working and waiting for reports from districts. Mr. Brace, how many reports have you received so far? When is the final outcome expected to be released?

[Brace] So far, reports have come in from six district commissions—specifically, from the districts of Gramsh, Kolonje, Pogradec, Delvine, Kavaje, and Kucove. We are expecting the results from all district commissions. At the same time, I want to stress that the deadline for us to receive these reports is 48 hours after the referendum is over, i.e. until 2000 tomorrow.

I also want to stress that, on the basis of the Law on Referendums and the Law on Election of Local Government Bodies, the final results of this referendum are announced by the KQV. All other results announced by other sources are unlawful.

[Dhamo] Thank you, Mr. Brace.

Berisha Pledges To Respect Referendum Verdict

AU0711164394 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 7 Nov 94

[Report by Zamira Koleci]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fifteen hours after the referendum ballot boxes closed, President Berisha held a

news conference for reporters that was also attended by the heads of diplomatic missions in Tirana. Berisha said this to the reporters:

[Begin Berisha recording] First of all, I would like to greet you all. I have come here to repeat my conviction that 6 November will remain a very important day in the history of Albanian democracy. Yesterday, for the first time in their history, Albanians were called to a referendum to express their free will, their vote, and their convictions on the draft constitution. I have considered and continue to consider the problem of the constitution as one of the major problems of Albania, the Albanian state, and Albanian democracy.

Unfortunately, I have no accurate data to present here. However, I want to guarantee you that whatever the result, the people's verdict will be fully respected, and that there exists an unwavering commitment to seek the best solutions to continue to consolidate democracy, a rule of law, respect for the rules of democracy, and the market economy in Albania.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all the Albanian citizens who, with democratic prudence and culture, participated yesterday with a high percentage in the first referendum, and voted like cultivated people. With the civilized way in which they acted, they showed that democracy in Albania has made great strides forward. I also want to condemn two acts of violence, one of which had tragic consequences, while the other involved injury. I want to express my condolences and regret to the families, and guarantee them that the state is fully committed to identifying the causes and to convicting the criminals responsible for acts most unworthy of an activity such as that of yesterday, and for every other situation.

For my part, I want to say that the referendum was held as a free democratic procedure, and of course the final assessment will be made after all the information has been gathered. The information received so far, however, bears testimony to the fact that this referendum was conducted with dignity by the Albanian people. [end recording]

President Berisha later answered reporters' questions. On this occasion, he expressed his interest in, and incontestable commitment for, Albania's having its own constitution.

I have tried, Berisha said, to have the constitution transformed into a law dear to all Albanians. At the same time, he also underlined the determination to respect the verdict of the people because, as he said, when the sovereign people speaks, the solution is truly democratic, and should be respected.

Berisha Comments on Domestic, Foreign Issues

NC0711214094 Ankara TURKISH DAILY NEWS in English 3 Nov 94 p B1

["Exclusive interview" with Albanian President Sali Berisha by Yasemin Dobra-Manco; place and date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TDN [TURKISH DAILY NEWS]—Why has there been a dispute amongst parties over the draft constitution?

Berisha—I worked very hard with our parties to have a consensus on the constitution. Unfortunately, the left opposed any kind of consensus, including the entire Human Rights Charter, which is one of the best. It was drafted with the Commission of Venice and was reviewed by those who drafted the European Convention of Human Rights. The Socialists rejected it, and left the consensus thinking they could create a parliamentary crisis. In such a situation the parliament is working very well. It is promoting and supporting reform, which is vital for the country. According to constitutional law, I proposed to the Parliament that the draft of the constitution be sent right to the people. Also, according to constitutional law, the president has the right to propose, and Parliament has the right to decide. The Parliament decided that this constitution would be approved by a referendum. In my view, it is a very good constitution and it respects, democratic standards, and is in full compliance with the concepts of the Helsinki and Copenhagen Charters.

TDN—How will the new constitution affect the reform program?

Berisha—Reforms have been in place for two years and they have proven to be very successful, especially if you consider the terrible situation Albania was in two years ago. Profound reforms have provided real positive results. This means this constitution has in many respects been implemented, but must be consolidated. It's a long process. I am happy that we have passed 2-3 years with these experiences.

TDN—How do you view the evolution of Albania from a nation with a hard-line communist ideology to a nation seeking democratic ideals?

Berisha—The changes are enormous and the realities are completely different. It is still very difficult in terms of moral and material life. Albania was supposed to have great difficulties changing, but this has proven to be different. It will quickly change because it is a nation of young people (close to 40 percent of the 3,200,000 population are under 18). There has been a tremendous amount of psychological change.

TDN—To what do you attribute these changes?

Berisha—First we applied shock therapy. This was a bitter pill, but at the same time very effective. Secondly, human beings are very complicated, and heritage is more important than one assumes. The human soul is a heritage. It is true that many things are to be learned. But, it is absolutely true, that the soul or spirit of a people is not created in 50 years. It is created maybe over a thousand years.

TDN—Do you think the world is aware of the changes taking place in Albania? Or, is the image of an oppressed, static, and closed nation still prevalent?

Berisha—Because we have had the highest growth rate in Europe for two years, Europe is aware that Albanians have shown their vitality. Our GNP last year grew by 11 percent. So there is optimism. Albanians are working hard and doing well in many respects.

TDN—The national objective has been rapid economic growth. To what do you attribute its success?

Berisha—This is all due to free and private initiative. Albanians accept sacrifice but they are all ready to profit from free initiative. What makes me very optimistic is that responsibility to work has returned. If we succeed in keeping this rate of fast growth in the coming years, which is our main goal, we will be in the right model of development. It is still too soon to speak of this. Several years are necessary.

TDN—Is Albania studying any particular models of development?

Berisha—We are studying and adopting different economic practices. We think that privatization will be the real pillar of our development. We are studying British, Argentine, Malaysian, Czech, and Southeast Asian experiences.

Second, we are trying to create a pro-export environment here, and facilitate foreign investment. Albania is not a large market herself, but if foreign investors are convinced that Albania is favorable to invest in, and export from, Albania will be a very exciting country for investors. Albania must adopt the most liberal laws to simplify and facilitate investments and assure investors.

Albania is a rich country, with tremendous resources, and is geographically well situated. Albanians are a strong people and they accept to work hard. Everywhere you have family-based small businesses flourishing.

TDN—Discussing international relations, the president noted organizations with which Albania has sought cooperation. Albania is seeking close links with the European Union and has already joined NATO's Partnership for Peace as well as a number of international organizations such as the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Both Albania and the United States have striven for good relations in order to help stabilize the situation in the Balkans.

Berisha—Our relations are very good with the United States. The United States has assisted Albania from the very beginning. We are seeking to be closer with the European Union and the United States, and closer with our neighbors, and Turkey. Albania is striving for integration, but it cannot be a sudden process. We have lost 50 years and we have to be patient. What is important is progress, and to progress with a steady pace.

TDN—In 1993 Ciller promised Albania substantial amounts of credit, as did Demirel in 1992. But this credit has remained only a promise. Is this disappointing?

Berisha—I could not say I am disappointed. Turkey has assisted Albania and I am very thankful. But I do find Turkish investors disappointing. They should come and invest more in Albania. As far as our relations between governments are concerned, we have very good relations. They are progressing in a very good way and we pay great attention to relations with Turkey. There are many historical and traditional links we are renewing. But, I consider it very important that Turkish investors come and invest. We are trying to speed up cooperation in all fields and hope that economic cooperation will match governmental cooperation. We are also looking forward to reciprocity regarding visas (Berisha was referring to the lifting of visa requirements for Albanian citizens by the Turkish government. Albania does not require visas from Turks).

TDN—Albania has a strategic role to play regarding peace and security in the Balkans. What do you think of any change of borders in the Balkans?

Berisha—I think that a change in borders without democracy and democratic procedures means war. That's the reason I oppose changing borders through force. I think Albanians should strive to respect human rights according to the Helsinki Final Act. We are for the full respect of borders.

TDN—Could a Macedonian border problem arise due to tensions in the region?

Berisha—Predicting the future in this post-iron curtain era is very difficult. Things are happening with such high speed. What we are trying to do is to keep stability, and the stability of Macedonia is vital to the region. All the countries in this region should work for stability, and all of them should pay great attention to stability.

TDN—It is feared by some that Albanians may themselves one day unite and seek a change of borders. Is this a threat to regional stability?

Berisha—If you look at the Albanian political map you will not find this. Because all Albanian political forces in Albania, Kosovo and Macedonia are opposed to the changing of borders by force.

TDN—Do you think that problems with Greece can be resolved in the near future? Greece has proposed dialogue with Albania if the five ethnic Greeks convicted of espionage and illegal arms possession are freed, and permitted free passage to Greece. Is an amnesty by the president a possibility?

Berisha—First of all, the right to grant amnesty belongs to Parliament and not to the president. Second, the duty of the president is to assure full independence of Albanian institutions. Third, I am deeply convinced that these Albanian citizens of Greek origin would never be discriminated against if the Albanian Parliament granted them amnesty.

TDN—Do you think that Parliament may consider granting amnesty?

Berisha—I have no idea. It is a question for Parliament, not for the president.

TDN—Some human rights groups have stated that there was not sufficient evidence to convict the five ethnic Greeks. What do think about these reports?

Berisha—The trial was open and independent, and recognized by governments of the European Union to be in accordance with Albanian procedures.

Albanian procedures are not the best and are to be improved. I do affirm that. But, the fact is that these citizens are submitted to the same procedures as any Albanian citizens. This is the truth. In two months we will have a new code of penal procedure.

TDN—Do you find that the international press has been objective in covering the trial?

Berisha—Yes, the majority. Definitely.

TDN—Do you believe Albania is a crossing point, like Turkey, between the East and West?

Berisha—Albania is a Western country. As a matter of fact, if you look at our old roots they are totally Western.

TDN—Having lived under communism, how will Albanians overcome a negative image created over 40 decades, and share the feeling of being "European," and being an equal rather than being treated as a former communist nation?

Berisha—Albania has a lot to do in this respect. It has to work hard and compensate for lost time. The image issue is a very complex one. But, we know our future lies in Europe.

Meksi Departs for Official Switzerland Visit

AU0711202194 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The visit of Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi to Switzerland is expected to give further impetus to bilateral relations. At the invitation of the Government of the Swiss Confederation, Prime Minister Meksi left today on an official visit to Switzerland.

During his two-day stay, Meksi is expected to meet Swiss Vice-President Villiger, Foreign Minister Cotti, and Public Economy Minister Delamuraz.

Visit To Strengthen Ties

AU0811081194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 7 Nov 94

[Report by Armir Shkurti]

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[FBIS Translated Text] A week ago, the Swiss economics minister signed several agreements in Tirana with our government. Today, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi left for Switzerland at the head of a delegation. The majority of delegation members are Foreign Ministry officials. Meksi considers relations with Switzerland very good.

[Begin Meksi recording] We can say that Switzerland, despite the small degree of assistance compared with other countries and the European Community, has been supplying concrete aid that has brought about concrete results in Albania. This visit aims, precisely, at strengthening ties between Albania and Switzerland in terms of general political relations and relations of economic cooperation. [end recording]

The meeting with the Swiss foreign minister will address the level of political and economic relations and determine what course is to be followed in the future.

Since Switzerland is a member of several international organizations in which Albania does not participate, Meksi will ask the Swiss foreign minister to support Albania, since our country needs assistance, being situated in a turbulent region and because the Albanian question is being exacerbated.

Our delegation is expected to meet the Swiss vice-president and minister of economics.

Meksi and the officials accompanying him will return to Albania on 9 November.

Zhulali, German Delegation Discuss Cooperation

AU0811082194 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Safet Zhulali today received Brigadier General Von Semben, chairman of a German military delegation and commander of the Hannover military academy.

Zhulali said at this meeting that the cooperation between the Skanderbeg Military Academy of Ground Forces and the Hannover military academy in Germany and the concrete assistance to reform the structures of military education indicate an interest in military cooperation between Albania and Germany.

Mr. Zhulali further assessed German assistance as sincere and expressed his desire to further expand bilateral relations in the military domain.

After confirming the program and the concrete assistance for the Skanderbeg Ground Forces Academy, Gen. Von Semben focused on aspects of the assistance to reform the structure of military education according to the most advanced German experience.

Claus Vollers, German ambassador in Tirana, also attended the meeting.

Chervenkov Interviewed on Workings of Ministry
AU0811092494 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 3 Nov 94 p 11

[Interview with Interior Minister Chavdar Chervenkov by Yovo Nikolov; place and date not given: "Chavdar Chervenkov: Political Police Is Not Union for Struggle Against Corruption"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Nikolov] Is it not too much to have three military men in key positions at the Ministry of Internal Affairs? Some people ask themselves whether it is not a step toward military dictatorship.

[Chervenkov] I would like to settle all doubts. In order to be able to implement the tasks with which I have been entrusted, I want to work with people I know and trust, and who think like me. It is those individuals' qualities that count. In addition, the Border Guard and the Internal Troops are also part of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The Fire Brigade too is a paramilitary unit and I think that it too should be led by a military person, such as General Vakavliev. The second former military person, Colonel Plachkov, used to work in a system that dealt with matters similar to the ones dealt with by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I think that his experience will help him solve problems in the sectors he controls—the economic and rear sectors.

[Nikolov] Are you not concerned that when the previous leadership of the ministry was ousted continuity at the Ministry of Internal Affairs was lost?

[Chervenkov] The chief secretary, Georgi Lambov, and Milcho Bengarski, secretary, are long-time Ministry of Internal Affairs employees, and they grasped the problems within a few days.

[Nikolov] Why did none of the old secretaries accept your offer to stay at the ministry?

[Chervenkov] It is to the credit of the old leadership that they understood that we want to conduct a rather different policy, and fully cooperated in handing over the levers of power.

They did not remain in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and I think that it is a praiseworthy decision. They understood that under the existing circumstances, it is better to stay away from the system, and I am grateful for that decision.

[Nikolov] At your news conference you said that the struggle against corruption must start at the top.

[Chervenkov] What I meant was that if we want the people to believe us, we must start the struggle against corruption from the very top.

[Nikolov] Will you rely on the special unit in stopping corruption at the ministry?

[Chervenkov] The special unit was created by [former Interior] Minister Mikhaylov. There is a place for such a unit, but we must increase its personnel. We want to clarify the concept of the unit's work so that it might be able to start operating within 10 days. For the time being it is under the control of the chief secretary.

The experience of other countries shows that similar control units exist in every sensitive ministry, such as the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In France for example, it is called the Police police.

[Nikolov] Many people view this unit as the resurrection of the Sixth Department [former State Security].

[Chervenkov] Everyone is free to think whatever he wants. I think, however, that there is a sufficient number of mechanisms that could block the establishment of a political police. The new unit will control the economic side of things, and not their political aspects.

[Nikolov] When will you end the game in which the buck is being passed from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the investigative authorities and the Office of the Prosecutor?

[Chervenkov] I would not say that the buck is being passed. True, mutual accusations have been made. Now we are reorganizing the National Investigation Service—we separate it from the Ministry of Interior and establish it as an independent structure, with all the ensuing organizational problems. I think that Mrs. Kruleva is a partner with whom we could work very well.

[Nikolov] Why did you suspend the decree that liberalized the distribution of weapons?

[Chervenkov] I did this in order to correct the decree. We will limit the distribution of weapons and establish stricter control.

[Nikolov] Will you allow greater freedom in the distribution of weapons, or do you just establish privileges for certain people?

[Chervenkov] We are amending the rules of the free sale and distribution of weapons. The same applies to the regulation concerning the leasing of weapons for self-defense and protection. We aim to introduce uniform norms: in other words, to distribute the prudent minimum of weapons.

[Nikolov] Does the fact that Colonel Bengarski will control the Central Service on Struggle Against Organized Crime mean that you support the idea of placing the police and that service under his leadership?

[Chervenkov] While dividing the functions, we start with the effort to create conditions of strict coordination of activities. As a rule, Police organizations cooperate most closely with the Central Service on Struggle Against Organized Crime. It is logical that both the police and that service should be supervised by the same secretary.

[Nikolov] Do you intend to use the Internal Troops to keep public order during the elections?

[Chervenkov] I do not intend to put the Internal Troops out on the streets. I do not think that troops of any kind should be on the streets. The Internal Troops will be on guard duty, as has been the case until now, and will protect foreign embassies and perhaps certain other properties, but they will not be on the streets.

[Nikolov] For what purpose will you use the 140 million leva that the government allocated to the ministry?

[Chervenkov] Oh, that amount will not be enough for anything. The work of the Police before the elections becomes more complicated and increases greatly. There will be 12,000 polling stations. Our employees will have to do a lot of work, during the night as well; and let us not forget that winter is at our door. The expenditures for fuel, spare parts, telephones, and so forth, have increased sharply.

[Nikolov] Have you already been subjected to political pressure?

[Chervenkov] No.

[Nikolov] What about the demand to use the police in clearing up the Chief Mufti Office affair?

[Chervenkov] That was not political pressure. I would like to stay out of it. The Ministry of Internal Affairs is not the organ that should resolve the problems of Bulgarian Muslims.

[Nikolov] How will you protect yourself against provocations on the part of various political forces aimed at revealing the personal files of various leaders or implicating them in violence?

[Chervenkov] I can guarantee that nothing aimed against any political leader will come out of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In our activities we will be guided only by the law and the prerogatives it gives us.

Plovdiv Interior Ministry Official Dismissed

AU081111194 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On 8 November, Interior Minister Chavdar Chervenkov met the leadership of the Plovdiv Regional Directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On that occasion, he handed Colonel Ivan Georgiev, director of the regional directorate, his dismissal papers. An offer was made to Colonel Georgiev to head the 5th Regional Police Administration in the city.

Colonel Nikola Dinev, until now head of the Police, was appointed acting director of the regional directorate.

Ambassador Expresses Greek 'Regret' for Incident

AU0711180694 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Defense Ministry Press Center has announced that Deputy Defense Minister Angel Manchev today received Greek Ambassador Anastasios Sidheris at his request. In response to the demand, last week, for an explanation regarding the incident in which a Greek aircraft overflew Bulgarian territory in the vicinity of the border, Ambassador Sidheris expressed regret on behalf of the Greek Government and gave the assurance that efforts will be made to avoid similar incidents in the future.

Port Handling Record Cargos, Expansion Planned

AU0711175694 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 2 Nov 94 pp 1, 2

[Report by Mariya Kekhayova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dimitur Aleksandrov, manager of Burgas Port, has announced that since January the port has handled 5.16 million metric tons of cargo, the highest amount in 90 years. Specialists note that the port is steadily growing in importance, and it is time to make it the main port for the Balkan countries. At present, the port has undertaken to handle all cargos sent by sea to or from Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM], after Greece closed the port of Salonika to Macedonian goods. Of the goods handled this year, 779,000 metric tons came from Macedonia or were sent there.

Aleksandrov believes that Burgas Port may remain an attractive outlet for Macedonia even when the Greek embargo is lifted. According to Aleksandrov, the port offers better services than Salonika. However, it is first necessary to settle the problems arising from traffic congestion at the Gyueshevo border checkpoint, which handles Macedonian goods destined for onward shipment by sea.

Bulgarian and foreign businessmen have already shown serious interest in investing millions of dollars in the port. The Spanish company Dragados and a Ukrainian company owned by the Black Sea Shipping Line have offered to undertake dredging work to deepen the port basin, at an estimated cost of \$36 million. As soon as the port has been deepened, five new terminals will be built. In May 1995, Multigroup, which submitted the winning tender, will start work on construction of a container terminal. Later on, the Plovdiv firm of Tradi Coop will start constructing an oil terminal, while Veles Holding will build a ferry terminal. A tender competition is being prepared for the contracts to build the last two terminals, for handling bulk cargoes and metals. Each of the five terminals has an estimated cost of \$50 million. The companies that build them will be granted concessions to operate them for 30 years.

The Burgas Port management has sent a letter to the Industry Ministry requesting the opening of customs facilities at the three remaining small ports in Tsarevo, Pomorie, and Nesebur.

SDS Program Said Based on 'Double Standards'

AU0711174494 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 4 Nov 94 p 16

[Article by Petko Georgiev: "The SDS Program Is Based on a Double Standard"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The program of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] published at the beginning of the week is supposed to be the foundation for SDS rule after the SDS wins the elections. However, the program promises so many incompatible things that a future SDS government will face a great dilemma in deciding which promise to implement.

It is impossible to rule a country on the basis of double standards.

The program has a pronounced non-ideological content. It is neither leftist nor rightist, conservative nor liberal. Obviously, an effort has been made to suggest that "only we can fulfill all your wishes." In the name of that message, the four-year SDS program contains answers to all the real problems of everyday life in Bulgaria, and every possible promise.

The parts dealing with the struggle against the mafia and corruption, reviving agriculture, strengthening financial discipline, effecting privatization, halting inflation, stimulating exports, and increasing social benefits are particularly incompatible.

The SDS claims that within four years it will bring inflation down to 10 percent. Simultaneously, the SDS envisages various economic and social measures that will certainly push inflation even higher: The SDS promises to remove taxes on higher wages, introduce privatization bonds equal to real money, provide restitution for property that has been destroyed, reduce taxes on profit and income, compensate refugees, and increase all kinds of social benefits (including the introduction of free coupons for food and services)! Together with such a massive increase in all kinds of income, a promise is being made to reduce inflation to 10 percent. This is, to say the least, a very bold promise.

A future SDS government will also face a difficult choice between the promises in its program to protect Bulgaria's agriculture and industry and at the same time liberalize foreign trade.

The SDS's intentions regarding the foreign currency regime are also described in accordance with the circumstances. In various parts of the program and on various occasions the program assumes responsibility for both tightening and liberalizing the development of the foreign currency market.

The same double standards are applied to political dismissals. When "people with democratic convictions" are dismissed, this is a political dismissal. However, when a future SDS government begins to dismiss economic leaders "who have conducted a procommunist policy," or "abused the SDS's confidence," this is part of the program's section dealing with "efficient management and control."

It becomes clear from the program that if the SDS wins the elections, it will try to correct the country's constitutional order. The main effort will be directed toward increasing the prerogatives of the executive and limiting the role of parliament. The National Assembly itself will have to regulate cases in which it would be entitled to interfere with the work of the cabinet. The creation of new parliamentary factions within the National Assembly will be banned.

An SDS government promises to cope—this time seriously—with certain unresolved social tasks, eliminating the People's Court Bill, and dealing with the property of totalitarian organizations. A special fund created by the property of those organizations would finance small businesses (!), while the finances of the former Dimitrov Komsomol will become a national fund to help youth. Finally, the program promises to resolve the painful problem of General Brigo Asparukhov, and transfer the intelligence and the National Protection Service to the Council of Ministers.

"Ask and ye shall receive," is the biblical quotation that apparently inspired the program's authors. This quotation has been edited under the conditions of the Bulgarian political scene to read "ask and ye shall receive a promise." Indeed, this is a situation among all the pre-election programs of all the candidates. However, to promise incompatible things means to promise, a priori, your own defeat.

Commentary Notes Unusual Coalition Activity

AU0711175294 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian
3 Nov 94 p 6

[Commentary by Kosta Lyubomirov: "Coalitions of Coalitions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Every election tactic and strategy includes the forming of coalitions. This is something absolutely normal in political practice. What is happening now in Bulgaria, however—namely, forming coalitions among coalitions—does not exist anywhere else in the world.

Obviously, none of the newly formed pre-election alliances is very confident, so feverish haggling on pre- and post-election cooperation is under way. Furthermore, all this is taking place without any principles or similarity of ideologies and platforms. The social democratic Democratic Alternative for the Republic [DAR] is seeking an alliance with the national liberal Patriotic Alliance. For its part, the Patriotic Alliance is seeking the powerful protective wing of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] through the Fatherland Party of Labor, in an attempt to clear the 4-percent barrier. Separately again, the DAR is trying—through Dr. Petur Dertliev, who in 1990 promised to hound the Communists to their graves—to leave an open door for an alliance with the BSP.

Despite their organic hatred for each other, Filip Dimitrov and Stefan Savov, under the pressure of the European Christian Democrats, have promised to cooperate in a future parliament.

Looking at all this, one wonders whether the "coalition" concept does not actually stem from the word koala, the likeable Australian teddy bear that slowly but insistently crawls toward the juiciest leaves of the eucalyptus tree—in this case, a seat in the future National Assembly.

Havel Views Regional, European Cooperation

AU08111:1594 Budapest: NEPSZABADSAG in
Hungarian 5 Nov 94 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Tibor Kis in Budapest; date not given: "There Is No Alternative to European Cooperation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Kis] At the time of the change of regimes, the thought of Central European solidarity was very popular everywhere. However, nowadays, the Visegrad concept is mostly said to be dead. What are your views on the issue of regional cooperation?

[Havel] I would say that this issue has two sides. One is that these revolutions were performed in the interest of individual independence; everyone can be answerable for himself and can take responsibility for himself. Civic self-consciousness and pride are being renewed in this region. To a certain extent, this is also reflected in the whole society because society also is increasingly becoming aware of being responsible. This process, which is connected to the original ideas, is naturally understandable and completely legitimate. We might often feel the sense of solidarity decreasing or cooling because, under the circumstances of freedom, it is difficult to expect the same kind of solidarity that was felt by those who faced a common enemy and who were actually pushed into one bloc by this common enemy. Today, we no longer have such a common enemy in the region. We are living in an age when everyone is responsible for himself, and this appears as if our roads were separated and independent. However, this is only one side of the coin. The other is that we all nevertheless are aware of the historical necessity for cooperation, the necessity for regional or Central European or, let us say, Visegrad cooperation. However, we are now seeking new forms of this cooperation that will correspond to the modern requirements. In other words, this cooperation is not on the level of words, and it does not have a demonstrative character; it consists of many thousands of small, concrete areas, where we can work together to our mutual benefit.

It Has To Be Accelerated

[Kis] At the same time, all countries of this region are trying to become involved in the European processes of integration. In your view, how can the Central European countries accelerate this process?

[Havel] Only two methods can be used. One, we quickly do something, change ourselves, quickly raise the level of political culture, change our legal system, and reconstruct our economic system as soon as possible. In other words, all necessary areas must be made compatible with the situations that have already been established in the European integration. The other method is that we constantly and regularly keep repeating to our Western partners that our integration is in their interest, too. It is a Pan-European interest that these countries become part of this integration. This is not a matter of selfish interests of certain countries. If we glance at the history of this region, we can see that whenever stability and security are missing here, the stability and security of the whole continent are threatened.

Historical Arguments

[Kis] What happens if the West is not willing to accept these arguments and our involvement in Europe is delayed? Does this region have an alternative for this eventuality?

[Havel] In my view, no other alternative can exist. Other alternatives do not have any sense and would lead to disaster. It is precisely history that can convince us about this. We must not regress in our efforts to join, and, eventually, we will certainly be able to achieve at least some partial results. In my view, it would be unusual politics for the West one day to say that it has decided that it does not wish to accept us. This cannot happen. However, certain issues can suffer delays, smoke screens can be set up, and some people might try to make the processes uncertain. To counteract this, we must speed up everything we can without slackening for even a minute. However, to think about some other alternative would be equivalent to a suicide attempt, would have a demobilizing effect, and would be a senseless step. [passage omitted]

Meciar Comments on National Council Session

AU0811091894 Prague *LIDOVE NOVINY* in Czech
5 Nov 94 p 9

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister-Designate Vladimir Meciar by Vladimir Misauer in Bratislava on 4 November: "All Parties Will Get a Chance"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Misauer] A parliamentary night marathon ended just a little while ago. Why was it necessary to settle everything so fast?

[Meciar] First, it was affected by the circumstances surrounding certain central bodies, and particularly by the situation in privatization. If we did not do it all right now, it would have been difficult to do it later.

Second, there was an aversion to taking part in a positive policy that certainly played a role among many of the political groupings, and this limits us tremendously. Last night and the preceding day were actually a test of readiness to act and cooperate. The cooperation of all three parties proved very keen.

[Misauer] You appointed a new prosecutor general. What are you going to do if the president refuses to accept him?

[Meciar] The previous prosecutor general was not appointed according to the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and was holding the post until a new one was appointed, which is what happened. Mr. Hudek is a person who should combine in himself the expert and moral requirements of the post. He should bring new dynamics into the office. It is a man with "fresh strength," who should help the Prosecutor's Office.

[Misauer] What will you do if the president rejects the proposal?

[Meciar] I will consider that after it happens.

[Misauer] Are you planning to establish some body that would specialize in media policy of the government?

[Meciar] Yes, there must be someone to deal with the formation and survey of public opinion on a permanent basis.

[Misauer] Will that be a government body?

[Meciar] It should be a government-controlled body.

Gasparovic on 'Breach' of Constitution Charges

LD0711181794 Bratislava *Rozhlasova Stanica*
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Following the 3-4 November National Council session, practically everyone is refusing to discuss the formation of a new coalition government with the winning coalition of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Slovak Farmers' Party, and the Slovak National Party. Because

the objections raised by the opposition resulted in accusations that the Constitution had been breached, we turned to Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic, who chaired most of the National Council's constituent, and the second, session. Jarmila Tosecka asked for his comments:

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] Mr. Chairman, please allow me to base my interview on some specific comments that cast doubt on the democratic and constitutional nature of the proceedings at the National Council's session.

The first thing is that I regard the passing of the law abolishing the 38 rulings on privatization through direct sale as a breach of the Slovak Constitution and the right to private ownership. These are the words of Gabriel Palacka, the state secretary in the Ministry for Administration and Privatization of National Property. Robert Fico, chairman of the Joint Choice deputies' group said the same. Is this some kind of nationalization process?

[Gasparovic] This is not at all the way in which this issue should be explained. The fact is that this law was adopted and that its purpose is to check that the government's privatization decisions made since 6 September comply with the law.

The only thing I wish to point out in this connection is that each privatization decision will indeed be reassessed. Provided that it is established—perhaps immediately, within 24 hours or maybe within 48—that there is nothing wrong with the project, a new decision will be made confirming this privatization project to the same applicant. If things are not right, however, the second or third applicants will step in. [passage omitted] From this point of view, I thus cannot see that anything unlawful has happened. The money expended on purchasing privatized property will be returned to those who fail reassessment. In this case, I cannot see that any damage would be incurred. On the contrary, I think the majority of Slovak citizens will welcome this decision.

[Tosecka] There is yet another specific objection, which is that, regarding the government resignation, the dismissal [as heard] of two Cabinet members—Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner and Privatization Minister Milan Janicina—is unconstitutional. This is what Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik claims.

[Gasparovic] I fail to understand why the prime minister requires a constitutional law. The fact is that, according to the Constitution, the government, after it has resigned, continues to carry out its work. Nothing therefore prevents the parliament from dismissing the ministers to whom it objects on the grounds of their performance in ministerial posts. I disagree with him on this issue.

[Tosecka] Regarding the dismissal of the Supreme Inspection Office chairman and the proposal to recall the prosecutor general and appoint a new one, there were

objections that the vote was held without their being able to voice their view. What was the situation regarding this issue?

[Gasparovic] The truth is that, when I received a proposal from a group of deputies to immediately convene the second session of the National Council, the session's agenda included only the proposals to recall two ministers. I was not aware there were any other points on the agenda. They were enlarged only during the second meeting. I find it difficult to comment on this. [passage omitted]

Neither the prosecutor general nor the Supreme Inspection Office chairman attended the meeting, although I think it would have been better if he had. [passage omitted] No law or legal regulation has been breached by their nonattendance, although it would have been better if they had attended.

[Tosecka] The situation concerning changes in the policy toward the mass media is similar. There were changes in the radio and television councils, and the central director of Slovak Radio was dismissed. This fact has generated much attention among the public, in particular among journalists. While being recalled, Central Director Stefko even said something about possible entry into the *Guinness Book of Records* because of the speed with which he was dismissed.

[Gasparovic] One should not use this angle to judge things in this way. The National Council has received many complaints about the work of the Slovak radio director. There were even many resolutions from the radio, from its trade unions organization concerning the director's work. His work was being watched throughout most of last year, and his request to be entered into the *Guinness Book of Records* because of the speed of his dismissal is not quite correct. Perhaps the gap between the complaints and his dismissal was too big.

[Tosecka] The chairman of the Party of the Democratic Left has also voiced serious accusations. He said that the limits of parliamentary democracy were breached at the parliament's second session and that he was concerned about the so-called parliamentary dictatorship, when the government will rule but when everything will be decided in parliament.

Mr. Gasparovic, you are the top representative of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, and you are also a lawyer. In view of both of these aspects, are you sure that all of the actions the parliament took at the aforementioned session complied with the law? The point is, are you aware that President Michal Kovac is planning to ask the Constitutional Court to check that all of the decisions adopted by deputies are in line with the Slovak Republic Constitution or relevant laws?

[Gasparovic] I think there is nothing to fear in this respect. The National Council meeting took place exactly in line with relevant laws. [passage omitted]

From this viewpoint, we see no reason to be concerned about the possibility that the Constitutional Court might overturn any of the National Council's decisions.

As far as the adopted bills are concerned, the procedure is such that the law is signed by the parliament speaker, the prime minister, and the president.

The president can return the bill to the National Council within a 15-day period from the day of its adoption by the National Council. What happens here is that, if I sign it on the last day—that is, on the 15th day—I will deprive the president of this chance, and he will not be able to lodge the matter with the Constitutional Court.

Naturally, I am not going to do this. I will sign this bill soon so that the president has a chance to make his own decision about what to do, whether he will return the bill to the National Council for another debate or not. That is his constitutional right, and no one should deprive him of it. From this point of view, I cannot see any reason for the Constitutional Court to interfere in these cases.

[Tosecka] Chairman, here is my final question. We learned that you saw the president today. Can you tell us what you discussed with him?

[Gasparovic] Yes, we met the president. He received me and my two deputy chairmen, whom I presented to him. We discussed further possible cooperation between the president and the presidential office, on the one hand, and the National Council and the National Council's Office on the other. We also discussed the National Council's future cooperation with the new prime minister and the government office.

We discussed the National Council session. Mr. President said he could not see any breach of constitutionality. He said he would probably use his right to return the bill to the National Council, but that he will still have to consult specialists.

We discussed our future cooperation, too. We exchanged information about our intention to respect the powers the Constitution sets out for the parliament, the president, and the government. He indicated that cooperation between these institutions is possible and that he can foresee it.

We discussed the issue of majority representation in parliament and the possibility of holding further coalition talks. I think we found consensus on almost all contentious issues we discussed there, especially as regards Slovakia's presentation abroad.

HZDS Search for Partners Continues

95CH0021A Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Oct 94 p 12

[Article by Berthold Kohler: "Where Is Meciar? Confusion Along the Way Toward Formation of the Government in Slovakia"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava, 21 Oct—A capital city is practicing the solving of riddles. Is he embittered, is he well, is he plotting new chess moves? In Bratislava, those who know nothing about it want to talk, and those who know do not wish to talk about it. A country is missing its election winner. Since the surprisingly great success of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) in the advanced elections three weeks ago, its chairman, Vladimir Meciar, former prime minister, has disappeared from the field of vision of the public. He sent two emissaries to fetch the directives calling on him to form a government (who ended up insulting the president as ordered). Since then, only a visit by Meciar to the editorial offices of a newspaper and a brief meeting with other party leaders have been recorded. Speculations are mounting as to why the politician, who loves the masses, has actually more or less gone to ground. The most likely answer is that Meciar does not consider his election results to be a victory but, rather, sees it as a defeat.

Having already been expelled from the government palace twice, Meciar trusts neither friend nor foe, primarily because many of his former friends have long since become embittered enemies. That is why the populist politician also avoids coalitions, much like a child who has been burned avoids fire. But, with 61 out of 150 mandates, the HZDS is dependent upon the support of other parties in forming a government. The word from the inner circle of the HZDS is that Meciar had at first wanted to be part of the opposition. The rest of the leadership, however, is reported to have convinced him that, as the arguably strongest party, the instructions of the voters had to be considered. So Meciar reluctantly dispatched his messengers to initiate talks with the other parties. He personally did not want to do that because some of the parties that might be considered in terms of creating a majority are headed by men whom Meciar no longer even wishes to acknowledge with a glance.

The HZDS is negotiating simultaneously with all parties represented in the next parliament, with the exception of the Hungarian Election Coalition, because this is a party that Meciar continues to need as an enemy image. Cooperation with the former principal opponents of the HZDS, the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), headed by Carnogursky, former prime minister, and the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL), loomed as a possible coalition variation. The KDH and the SDL, which wanted to leap over their own shadows and fears in the interest of the country, set identical conditions for such a coalition: For the sake of political stability, Meciar would have to cease his attacks on President Kovac, give up his plans for introducing an imperative mandate and a presidential system (custom-tailored for himself), and, finally, have the Democratic Union (DU) of Moravcik, acting prime minister, participate in the coalition.

But Meciar did not wish to deviate one millimeter from his confrontation course because he places the principal blame for his latest loss in March on his former running

mates Kovac and Moravcik. Thereupon, the KDH terminated the conversations and announced that it was going into the opposition. Carnogursky, KDH chief, says that Meciar's policy is "a pure vendetta" against the president and DU. Naturally, the KDH retreat reduces Meciar's chances for drawing the hesitant SDL to his side. Without the KDH, the SDL has no desire to join Meciar in his hot dance. It is clear to both parties that not too many laurels are to be earned in a government with the HZDS. "The SDL does not wish to pick the hot chestnuts out of the fire for another person again," says Weiss, SDL chief, who was badly penalized by his own voters for participating in the coalition that existed up to now (and was working successfully). Weiss himself is also on Meciar's shoot-down list and is thus still considered to be an obstacle between the SDL and the HZDS. The HZDS intermediaries waited a week in anticipation that the SDL would rid itself of its chairman. But, in the intraparty wrangling following the election debacle, the SDL first became subject to a self-preservation drive. Personnel decisions were deferred until the party congress in February.

In view of the resistance forces within the SDL and the KDH, the HZDS, being well versed in the double game, was keeping yet a second coalition option warm. This one is aimed at two parties that, although they were presumably easier to capture, are less attractive to the HZDS for varying reasons: the old coalition partner, the Slovak National Party (SNS), and the surprise party in these elections, the Worker Association (ZRS) of Luptak, former SDL deputy. Although the SNS would bring a certain number of easily fooled voters to the marriage, it would also bring its just reelected chairman Slota. Not even Meciar finds this radical nationalist appealing. In the vernacular, Slota is referred to as "Zilínovsky," according to his home town of Zilina.

Luptak's class struggle and protest party, which has hitherto categorically rejected any participation in the government, would, from the very beginning, be an unreliable customer. The ZRS wants to support only parties that meet its "13 conditions." These include the resignation of all parliamentary delegates who have "insulted" the working class, the rescission of "worker-hostile" laws, and the dissolution of all corporations with limited liability that were formerly owned by the state. According to claims made by its leadership, the party is fundamentally "opposed to the EU, NATO, and the International Monetary Fund." Kolnik, deputy ZRS chairman, has stated that the West considers a lone Slovakia as a "colony." Therefore, one must not allow oneself to be "torn loose" from Russia.

Fundamentally distrustful of coalitions, the HZDS chief is nevertheless hoping to convert his 61 seats and the relatively reliable nine mandates of the SNS into an absolute majority. In an action filed before the Constitutional Court, he is asking that the participation of DU in the elections be declared unconstitutional and that its 15 mandates be invalidated. It is alleged that DU had

not managed to collect the necessary 10,000 signatures required for purposes of registering for the elections. Meanwhile, DU is suing the HZDS for making television announcements on election day. The possible "partners" of Meciar, meanwhile, are afraid that the HZDS could usurp all top parliamentary offices at the inaugural session of parliament on 3 November because members of the government who are also members of DU are prohibited from voting as deputies.

In view of the muddled situation and the uncompromising nature of the HZDS, the idea that the existing government coalition might yet be able to continue governing by including the Hungarians and the imponderable "worker association" is once more cropping up throughout Bratislava. Of course, this would only have a chance if Meciar himself would want to go into opposition. At the moment, this does not appear likely.

HZDS Statement on Issues of Coalition Talks

*LD0711201594 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 7 Nov 94*

[Quotation marks denote recorded passages]

[FBIS Translated Text] The political executive of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] is in session in Bratislava. It has so far approved a statement about which editors Dagmar Bazlikova and Katarina Belicka will report.

[Bazlikova] The political executive of the HZDS notes that the reason for the failure of the current coalition talks on setting up a stable majority government of the Slovak Republic is, above all, the excessively concentrated approach and lack of interest [as heard] of some representatives of Joint Choice and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] in concluding realistic coalition agreements. This is with the aim of discrediting the HZDS as a political entity that does not know how to communicate and find its political partners. If a new government is not created, the HZDS will strive for the National Council of the Slovak Republic to actively safeguard constitutional control in the caretaker government. The aim of these steps is also to reverse the threat of new early parliamentary elections, which is the aim of the current parliamentary opposition.

Through the work of parliamentary committees, we want to exert pressure for the ministries, offices, and other components of state administration to work efficiently so that they might continue to solve such matters as the state budget for 1995 and the amendment of tax regulations, the statement says.

According to the HZDS statement, all of the current steps have been made in full accordance with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic and the principles of parliamentary democracy. In this connection, the political executive of the HZDS notes with apprehension the escalating media attacks and some addresses of deputies of the KDH, the Democratic Union, and the Hungarian

parties who question the essence of the democratic setup in Slovakia, fan sensations of fear and uncertainty among citizens, and unjustly harm the name of Slovakia abroad.

[Belicka] At a short news briefing, HZDS Deputy Chairman Sergej Kozlik confirmed that the HZDS is still looking for a suitable coalition partner with whom to seek urgent talks on forming the government.

The HZDS thus admits that there are two coalition agreements: the parliamentary agreement with the Slovak National Party and the Association of Workers of Slovakia, and the government agreement with an unspecified partner. There is a possibility, however, that this partner will demand a review of those who are holding key posts in parliament, the National Property Fund, the mass media, and so on, so that he can put his own people in them. Is the HZDS willing to accept this demand?

[Kozlik] "We have already opened some informal negotiations during the parliament meeting, even during the constituent meeting, and after the meeting. This means that, although certain (?overtures) have been made, I think the platform remains open.

"The posts of two National Council deputies have not yet been filled, and we are, of course, capable of dealing with filling other posts, provided a suitable coalition partner is found.

"On the other hand, it is noteworthy that we had to turn the parliament into a body capable of functioning. This means that we used the same platform both for concluding a parliamentary coalition agreement and for filling posts."

[Belicka] Kozlik also admitted that the process of seeking an HZDS government partner has made considerable progress since the parliament's session.

[Kozlik] "Although the parliament session took place only a short while ago, progress has been made. Once again, we will have to start by holding informal talks and negotiations. Just look back and recall that the first round after the parliamentary elections started on a similar note. I think this is not an impenetrable situation. The issue is finding other political subjects who would enter into talks and accept our offer of talks. But, initially, we will mainly concentrate on informal talks."

[Belicka] Asked why the HZDS and its coalition parliamentary partners do not want to release the wording of their agreement, Kozlik replied that this was their joint political agreement.

Weiss: SDL No Satellite of Meciar's Party

*LD0711140494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica
Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 7 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] At a news conference today, Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of the Democratic

Left [SDL], called on the parliament coalition consisting of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], the Farmers' Party of Slovakia [RSS], the Slovak National Party [SNS], and the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] to form a government, assuming the responsibility for which they received a mandate from the electorate.

He described the option of forming a government of grand compromise as very complicated. Robert Beno asked him whether he rules this out completely:

[Begin recording] [Weiss] I spoke about this theoretical option because some people are trying to present the government of grand compromise as an entity that could be formed if the HZDS, with its two satellites, the SNS and the ZRS, is joined by the third satellite. Speaking from the position of chairman of the SDL, I must say it is unacceptable to turn the SDL into an appendage of the HZDS, to be used when need be for voting purposes and, once the time is ripe, to be in fact sidetracked.

[Beno] How would you explain Mr. Meciar's announcement that he sets no conditions on the next round of talks on forming a coalition government?

[Weiss] I am afraid that the HZDS has launched a cynical game of power politics. It intends to allow this outgoing government to function under the dictatorship of parliament. This government no longer has sufficient power, it no longer enjoys majority support in parliament, and it suffers from the erosion of both ministerial and state administration apparatuses. In fact, this amounts to gambling with this country's fate. It would therefore be absolutely appropriate if the HZDS would stop making excuses that its allies, the Slovak National Party and the Association of Workers of Slovakia, whom they used to grab the real positions of power during the night vote, are not suitable coalition partners for the HZDS.

[Beno] One of the important decisions made at the second session of the Slovak National Council is that on setting up a commission to investigate the constitutional crisis of March of this year.

[Weiss] The forming of this commission might turn into—and I am returning to what I said already in the election period—a beginning of the first political trial in Slovakia.

People are going to be investigated for having made a political decision in March to dismiss one person from his post. It is simple: Nothing contravening the Constitution took place; somebody lost a majority in parliament. From the political point of view, we can assess this in this or that way, but the Constitution was definitively not violated.

[Beno] Speaking about the crisis, can you see a way out?

[Weiss] The basic way out of the crisis is to turn a de facto coalition in parliament into a de facto government coalition as soon as possible. [end recording]

ZRS Wants Referendum on Joining EU, NATO

AU0711144694 Bratislava SME in Slovak 31 Oct 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Iveta Bielikova: "Jan Luptak: Let the People Decide in a Referendum on Joining NATO and the European Union"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Banska Bystrica—Members of the ZRS [Association of Workers of Slovakia] Republican Council decided on 29 October that the Association's headquarters will continue to be located in Banska Bystrica. The staff at its head office should be reinforced by a secretary, an economist, and a typist in November. ZRS centers will also be established in the districts. They should help with the distribution of the weekly HLAS ROBOTNIKOV [Voice of the Workers], whose sixth issue is published today. ZRS officials have described the original print run of 10,000 to 12,000 copies as experimental. The print run should be increased to 40,000 soon and, subsequently, even to 60,000. ZRS Chairman Jan Luptak said the following in connection with HLAS ROBOTNIKOV's contents: "The paper will be ours. Therefore, it will report truthfully on what is happening in the Association, how our deputies conduct themselves in parliament, and what law they have defended." Luptak also briefed reporters on the statements he made in Brussels about joining NATO and the European Union: "If we are going to join NATO, someone has to tell us what it will bring or not bring us. This decision cannot be made by a couple of politicians. These are important steps for this society, and no one is asking what it will cost this nation. Why did we abolish the Warsaw Pact if we are going to rearm ourselves with different weapons?"

"One bloc has been abolished, so what does the other bloc have to do with us? It should also be abolished. The decision about serious issues such as joining the Union or whatever should be made in a referendum. The people must decide. If the people decide, the people will bear this burden." He also aired his views on the IMF loan: "I have had talks with the Russian ambassador. A great deal of business can be done there. We cannot do it in return for hard currency because the Russians do not have it. The Bulgarians also do not have it. If we do not have hard currency, we have to go in for barter. Nothing can be done about this, but we should not take a loan from the West and pay for food with hard currency. If the IMF wants to give us something, let it give us state-of-the-art technology. We do not need dollars at all."

Representatives of the Association of Workers of Slovakia refuse to participate in the government. "We know what awaits this society. A restrictive policy will be formulated. It will be formulated on the backs of the workers. In this case, the party need not have been established. We are not interested in seats but are genuinely interested in the people. We are exerting pressure on the politicians to revive the economy. Yes,

we want to exert control where it is necessary. We have made this clear because we know how many dirty things there are in this society. No one has caught anyone for this since 1989, and millions [currency not specified] have been squandered." According to Luptak, the ZRS will be the driving force that will point out and disclose many things.

ZRS Deputy Chairman Miroslav Kocnar said that they want to support the government. "It does not matter to us which one. The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] claims that it is the most stable entity in this society. Do you think people voted for the KDH so that it could withdraw into the opposition? We want to negotiate because we know that this is in the interests of the state."

One of the ZRS's first demands will be the establishment of a construction ministry. "We know how necessary it is to revive the economy. All the branches of industry link up with construction. It should not be suppressed; there is a great deal of employment there. I am amazed at our politicians. We are selling off cement works and we want to build roads and apartments. For how much will the owner sell it to us? We have stone, wood, and gravel, but cement..." He responded negatively to a direct question on whether the ZRS chairman would be interested in the post of construction minister but added that, in case of need, they would recommend their people for this post.

The issue of the local elections is also associated with the formation of the organizational structure. The ZRS officials said the following in connection with it: "It is within the jurisdiction of the district councils to choose a partner in their region—from all of the parties to the left of center. So far, we do not have an outline of our candidates."

Moravcik Views Budgetary Issues, Privatization

AU0511192294 Bratislava SME in Slovak 29 Oct 94 pp 1-2

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Jan Pankovcinova; place and date not given: "Moravcik's Cabinet Will Adopt the 1995 Budget on 15 November"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Pankovcinova] How do you evaluate the decision by the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic, which decided on 27 October to reject the complaint of the Democratic Union [DU] against the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], as well as the HZDS complaint against DU?

[Moravcik] We anticipated that such a decision would be adopted. We submitted a complaint against the HZDS lest our mandates be rejected at the first meeting of the Slovak Republic National Council [NRSR] (if the HZDS used an argument against DU saying that the Constitutional Court still had not made a decision in the case of the DU mandates). We respect the decision made by the Constitutional Court and are happy that the legality of our mandates has been confirmed.

[Pankovcinova] However, the HZDS chairman criticized, on Thursday, before the two complaints were rejected, the course of action taken by the Constitutional Court, which did not deal with the essence of the argument—that is, the verification of the petition lists—on the basis of which DU had been allowed to run in the election. He said that it was up to parliament to verify the mandates of the DU deputies....

[Moravcik] The parliament will have no reason to reject the verification of our mandates. We have met all of the necessary conditions to run in the elections where we won enough votes. Efforts exerted by the HZDS should be unequivocally understood as an intention to question the election results. If, for instance, the HZDS, the Slovak National Party, and the Association of Workers of Slovakia, having a majority in parliament, voted against the verification or the DU mandates, that would be unconstitutional.

[Pankovcinova] Apart from that, according to the Constitution, it is not possible to change the decision of the Constitutional Court....

[Moravcik] Naturally, the decision of this court is final.

[Pankovcinova] Mr. Meciar also said that, if the ministers of your government who were elected as deputies wanted to vote at the NRSR constituent meeting, they should resign so that Gasparovic would not have to invite proxies because your ministers cannot hold two functions. You have already said that the resignation of your Cabinet is out of question. Is that still true?

[Moravcik] Yes. The argument raised by Meciar is absurd. I believe he was not serious because, even if we did resign, we would have to stay in our positions until the new government is formed.

[Pankovcinova] At what stage is the preparation of the state budget for the next year? The HZDS chairman asserts that your Cabinet is "primarily irresponsible" in that respect. He also says that there will be a deficit amounting to 54 billion korunas [Sk]....

[Moravcik] We are used to such catastrophic scenarios and visions by Meciar. He is always saying that the coming year will be the worst, and then again the next year. From my point of view, his statements are to purposefully influence public opinion. The reality is that the government is working on the draft budget for next year and will be able to adopt it on 15 November. On that date, we want to end our work on the budget so that it can be brought up for debate in parliament. However, this will have to be done by the next government.

[Pankovcinova] What basic macroeconomic indexes have you taken into account in drafting the budget?

[Moravcik] The government approved these indexes before. They should represent continuity with the development thus far and should gradually improve. For example, inflation should be under 10 percent—that is,

pronouncedly less than this year. The state budget deficit should not exceed 3 percent of the gross domestic product, which is 1 percent less than this year, and unemployment should remain roughly at the same level as this year. Generally speaking, we anticipate a lower deficit in the state budget compared with 1994. However, to draft a state budget so that the three macroeconomic indexes are met means solving the fundamental problem: we encounter when drafting the budget: debt servicing by the state. In view of last year's budget deficit and that of previous years and the obligation to pay off credits received by previous governments, debt servicing represents some Sk40 billion. This is a problem that cannot be solved without using resources other than the budget. Such resources are in the National Property Fund. It is possible to solve debt servicing if a part of the debt, amounting to Sk18 billion, is taken over by the National Property Fund. But, for this to happen, we need to create resources in the National Property Fund. Budget drafting is therefore linked to privatization. If we want to draft a budget, we have to determine the road to privatization in the coming term so that the National Property Fund receives its resources. A similar situation was successfully solved by the Czech Republic. This is also possible in our country, if we continue to privatize.

General Tuchyna Holds News Conference

AU0711102994 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
27 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by Pavol Vitko: "Divisions Will Be Replaced by Army Corps"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—"Tomorrow, I will issue orders regarding the personnel of two army corps of ground forces and one corps composed of air force and air defense, who will start their activity on 1 November 1994," Jozef Tuchyna, commander of the Slovak Republic Army General Staff, announced at a news conference yesterday.

Army corps are being established in lieu of the existing divisions, and their establishment is in harmony with the transformation of the Slovak Republic Army approved by the government. In the course of the next year, the transformation of regiments into military brigades will be carried out. General Tuchyna evaluated relatively positively the results of the Slovak Army General Staff exercise involving staff commanders at the beginning of this month. Its purpose was to harmonize the activity of the supreme military organ, which was established on 1 September 1994. The general then said that the Slovak Republic was still interested in joining NATO. However, in view of his apolitical position, he refused to comment on the contradictory declaration made by Jan Luptak, chairman of the parliamentary Association of Workers of Slovakia.

"If the budget maintains its declining trend, then material supplies to the Army and its duties will be endangered, as well as the overall preparation of the Army,"

Tuchyna said. He also said that, at present, they had to plan the activity of the Army for the next year, and the state budget will become a decisive factor for it. Later, in his declaration to the CTK, he was more specific: "The current needs of the Army slightly exceed 19 billion korunas [Sk], and we also have to make up the losses from past years." We are adding that the Army had at its disposal Sk10.4 billion, and this figure was lowered by Moravcik's government by Sk500 million during the year.

During his four-day trip to the United States last week, Gen. Tuchyna met with supreme officials from the U.S. Army and military functionaries from 16 European countries. He also visited an exposition of the most modern military technology for infantry, but, as he said, he was most impressed by the solidarity of the U.S. soldiers and the moral support from the public that the Army enjoys. He was in the United States at the invitation of the Association of Ground Forces of the United States, whose members also involve people out of military service. In this connection, Tuchyna's statement regarding the most recent declaration of the Association of Slovak Soldiers regarding the president of the Slovak Republic did not sound too optimistic. Tuchyna said that he had always had a positive attitude toward the association, but now it has overstepped its limits because it has declared political goals, and, therefore, "the association has no place within the Army because we in the Army are not engaged in politics." When asked by PRAVDA whether he did not expect, after the change of government, political pressure toward personnel changes in the Slovak Army General Staff, the staff commander told us that the staff had been established from among the best experts and that he did not feel that "anything should be changed within the staff." He added that, if there is political pressure, he would "prefer to resign."

Gen. Tuchyna then used the opportunity to express regret, through the mass media, over the most recent tragic events that took place in the Slovak Army and expressed sympathy to the families. [passage omitted].

The general expressed disappointment over the low efficiency of the adopted measures, with the aim of eliminating "incorrect relations" within the Slovak Army. At the same time, he drafted a system of legal and religious services in the Army, which should help improve discipline and friendly relations among the soldiers.

Views Military Intelligence

AU0711102894 Bratislava SME in Slovak 27 Oct 94 pp
1-2

[Interview with Slovak Army General Staff Commander Jozef Tuchyna by Robert Kotian; place and date not given: "Everything Is Under Temporary Control"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At a press conference yesterday, J. Tuchyna, commander of the Slovak Army General

Staff [GS], said that no political decision had been made as to the appointment of the directors of Military Defense Intelligence and the Military Intelligence Service.

[Kotian] According to the Law on Military Intelligence, said directors are appointed and dismissed by the defense minister. What political decision are you talking about?

[Tuchyna] I mean the fact that the minister is a representative of this sector and that there has been no decision by him regarding this matter.

[Kotian] According to said law, personnel matters and status are to be approved by the government. Has the status been worked out?

[Tuchyna] It has been prepared but not discussed yet.

[Kotian] What went wrong?

[Tuchyna] Don't ask me; I am not a member of the government.

[Kotian] According to certain information, the command of Military Intelligence has been transferred to you.

[Tuchyna] According to the law, the minister has this power, and, regarding the command of Military Intelligence as such, he has transferred it to the GS.

[Kotian] That is, to you. You have been charged with the preparation of its status.

[Tuchyna] I am saying that it has been prepared, but the minister has to present it for discussion in the government. The GS commander does not attend government meetings.

[Kotian] You have drafted the status, but the minister has not presented it, is that right?

[Tuchyna] It has been prepared and evaluated jointly, but I do not know when it will be discussed in the government. You will have to ask the minister.

[Kotian] Does the Military Intelligence function?

[Tuchyna] It does.

[Kotian] Despite the fact that the status has not been approved?

[Tuchyna] Of course, everything is under some kind of temporary control.

[Kotian] Does that mean that you have adopted temporary status?

[Tuchyna] In principle, whatever has been prepared for the government represents temporary status. Military Intelligence was here even before.

[Kotian] When can the status be implemented?

[Tuchyna] Don't ask me. When will the government be formed?

[Kotian] Do you consider it to be a normal situation if the bill was approved on 30 June and is to come into force on 9 August?

[Tuchyna] No, I do not.

Horn Assesses Government's First 100 Days

AU0811094494 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in
Hungarian 5 Nov 94 p 4

[Unattributed interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn; place and date not given: "The Prime Minister Replies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NEPSZABADSAG] What have you achieved in the past 100 days, and what experiences have you gained?

[Horn] I have achieved less than I wanted to achieve, but it was done perhaps more thoroughly than planned. I succeeded in learning the real state of this country. For several reasons, I needed much more time for this than I thought, and I was disappointed by the level of some people's honesty, patriotic commitment, and professionalism. The far from elating knowledge about Hungary's real condition is the basis of all our activities and it is not because of our government's helplessness that some things have not yet been carried out; rather, this shows the government's ability to coordinate its plans and steps with the prevailing reality if necessary. An interesting phenomenon: If we act quickly, people say we are being hasty; if something is delayed, we are regarded as helpless. People gladly forget that we are trying to coordinate our steps not only with the coalition but also with the opposition and the social partners. This is extremely time-consuming. On one hand, we must stick to the broadest possible social dialogue in order to learn and acknowledge all kinds of interest; on the other hand, we cannot allow debates to drag indefinitely and threaten our ability to act.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What have you failed to achieve?

[Horn] I can call something a failure when the time allocated for solving that particular problem is over and when every possible effort proved to be in vain. Therefore, I would rather say that we are still awaiting success in matters in which I expected to be successful more quickly. The creation of a completely new form of coalition—one based on equality—is a difficult and slow process. I also expected to achieve quicker results in our struggle against corruption, but it is more important to make sure that no one can organize a witch hunt. We knew that a broad coordination of interests and social dialogue would slow down the decisionmaking process, but many people are inclined to abuse this and, therefore, they present the delay in decisions as a sign of failure. In general nothing destroys my enthusiasm. However, I find it difficult to accept the unprincipled lobbying, the efforts aimed at protectionism and illegal advantages, the disturbances in self-esteem, and incorrectness, no matter from what direction they come. Besides, I am satisfied neither with the activity of the government nor with my own activity; if I had to mark this, I would give it a satisfactory mark.

[NEPSZABADSAG] How much did you change your apparatus, how many people have been replaced, and do you plan any reduction in personnel?

[Horn] The present administrative state secretary had already fulfilled this function in the Nemeth-cabinet. My personal secretary is an old partner. I brought one of my secretaries from the Socialist Party. There are people whom I know from my government activity or from diplomatic activity; others I know through their activity in the party or from the party's election campaign. There are also people with whom I have never worked, but I knew them and followed their activity. There is a colorful picture here. However, the picture is uniform in the fact that none of these people got here through our personal friendship; there are no relatives, former schoolmates, or neighbors among them.

Some 100 people left the Prime Minister's Office, and 35 new people came. In view of the principle of saving, many positions have been eliminated; for example, there is only one titular state secretary today instead of the previous three such state secretaries, and we only kept one minister without portfolio from the previous four.

Finance Minister Comments on European Loans

LD0711223194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in
Hungarian 2100 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Gyorgy Folis reports on the Brussels meeting of the finance ministers of the full and associate member states of the European Union and some other European countries.

[Folis] [Passage omitted] Brussels' decision to invite nine east European finance ministers to attend tonight's meeting was not a coincidence because the fate of several issues, like for example the non-repayable grants in the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] framework, may affect all of them. Before the meeting I asked Laszlo Bekesi what he expects from the consultation, the first of this type. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Folis] You mentioned a special kind of loan construction, the structural transformation loans. In connection with this, it raised some eyebrows here in Brussels that while, for example, the European Investment Bank was preparing to offer 3 billion [currency unspecified] to one of the (?regions), we only asked for 2 billion for ourselves. How can we justify this?

[Bekesi] I think that the Hungarian Government possesses sufficiently telling arguments. One of these is that for decades our country has been successfully managing its debt financing from its own resources. Second, it has already begun to transform and modernize the country's economy, again using its own resources. Thus, it is not asking for aid, a new Marshall Plan but for repayable loans on tolerable terms. Our third argument is that the country is implementing a stabilization and modernization program whose number one factor, the creation of stability, places a heavy burden on the Hungarian economy and society. Resources for modernization cannot be financed purely from domestic savings. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Defense Committee Chairman on NATO Membership

AU0411211994 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Nov 94 pp 1,4

[Interview with Imre Mecs, chairman of the Hungarian Assembly's Defense Committee, by Verecke; place and date not given: "Communication Disturbances Between NATO and Hungary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Imre Mecs does not regard as particularly optimistic the claim that Hungary could become a NATO member even before the year 2000. In his interview with MAGYAR NEMZET upon his return from talks in Brussels, the chairman of the National Assembly's Defense Committee criticized our leading politicians' incorrect statements in connection with NATO.*

[Verecke] The issue of Hungary's possible NATO membership obviously was discussed at the meetings you held in Brussels. What did your negotiating partners say?

[Mecs] No concrete promises were made. Our hosts stressed that they do not have the right to make such promises, but they made us understand that Hungary's membership will be both possible and desirable in the foreseeable future. They also signalled us that they expect certain gestures from us in exchange. We were asked why Hungary does not participate in the joint peace partnership exercise in Poland.

[Verecke] The Hungarian Government renounced the participation because of lack of funds.

[Mecs] I told them this myself, but they did not seem particularly to understand this reason. If it is a problem for us to find funds to cover the expenses of a smaller exercise, how will we be able to cover the expenses connected with full NATO membership?

[Verecke] Did you encounter other reservations too?

[Mecs] Remarks were also made about the uncertainty that accompanies the government change. The recent statement according to which Hungary wants to join NATO together with the neighboring countries also gave cause for concern.

[Verecke] [Defense Minister] Gyorgy Keleti intended this as a gesture to the neighboring countries.

[Mecs] But the NATO members do not regard this statement as such a gesture; instead, they understand that, for the time being, Hungary does not want to join NATO. It also transpired that they have not yet digested the statements made by the Hungarian prime minister in the previous government about the patrolling tasks of AWACS aircraft in Hungarian airspace. The NATO members were also alarmed by the issue of civilian control, as well as by the fact that there are many soldiers in the leadership of the new Hungarian Defense Ministry.

[Verecke] Did you succeed in calming your partners down?

[Mecs] I think that, from this point of view, the visit made by the Hungarian delegation was a good gesture. I also told them that, from now on, the expenses connected with NATO and the peace partnership will be covered by the government, rather than by the Defense Ministry.

[Verecke] As far as I know, no decision has yet been made on this issue.

[Mecs] That is true, but a position already emerged at preliminary talks that expenses connected with NATO will be covered by the prime ministerial reserves. At the meeting with the president, the prime minister, and the defense minister after my visit, Prime Minister Gyula Horn expressed his support.

[Verecke] The Defense Ministry would like to put aside 300 million forints for NATO-related issues. Do you think that is enough?

[Mecs] I forecast the expected expenses to reach at least 400-600 million forints. It would not be expedient to set a smaller sum, because this would only make Hungary discredit itself.

[Verecke] Gyorgy Keleti said recently that he can imagine Hungary as a NATO member by the end of this century. What is your opinion about this?

[Mecs] Hungary can join NATO even earlier than that. NATO is now seeking its place and expects the determination of tasks from various European integration organizations. With the end of the confrontation between the two big powers, local wars, smaller armed conflicts, environmental and catastrophe-prevention tasks, and terrorist affairs have come to the fore. In this respect, enlarging the circle of members with Central European countries would contribute to the clarification of NATO's role in the new situation. Proposals like the ones made by Hungary could also promote this clarification. For example, Hungary recently suggested that the various countries hold joint exercises not only at the level of small units, but also at the level of general staff leadership, and that NATO create a language center in Hungary.

[Verecke] At the same time, NATO members are divided on the issue of broadening the organization. The United States is for it, while Great Britain is against it.

[Mecs] The United States and Germany indeed think that our relatively speedy joining is the correct thing. It is also clear that the Visegrad group and Slovakia in this area have a chance to join NATO. It transpired from the talks that there is no such thing as preferential treatment for the Czech Republic. At the same time, it also transpired that there will not be a collective acceptance of new members, but every individual joining will be thoroughly analyzed.

[Verecke] On the basis of your experience, what suggestions did you make to the Hungarian Government?

[Mecs] First of all the fact that statements should be coordinated. Western Europe is following us with attention. At the moment, there is a lack of adequate coordination among the government, the Foreign Ministry, and the Defense Ministry, while we must show a uniform image of Hungary outside. We must also be aware of the fact that, if we are really heading toward the Western European integration organizations, we must also accept sacrifices for this endeavor.

[Verecke] Recent evaluations seem to claim that what we are talking about is not necessarily disturbance, but the fact that the government seems to back down from its pro-NATO-membership position voiced during the election campaign. What is your opinion?

[Mecs] I am convinced that Hungary is determined to become a NATO member. We hope that this will take place as soon as possible.

Ministry Plans To Reduce Uranium Production

AU0811101494 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Nov 94 p 1

[Correspondent's report: "Limited Production at the Uranium Mines in Mecsek?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Limited production until the year 2,000, and the closure of the mines thereafter—this is the proposal of the Industry Ministry about the future of the uranium mines in Mecsek. The proposal will soon be submitted to the industrial interest coordination forum.

The fate of the Mecsek uranium mines cannot be solved without a government decision, because the price of extracted uranium does not cover the debts. Therefore, the Industry Ministry examined several possibilities and will submit its proposal to the government after discussing it with the Industrial Medium-Level Interest Coordination Council.

The decision to abolish uranium mining in Hungary was made in 1989, but this decision was revoked in 1994. The same decision stipulated that the Nuclear Power Station in Paks should purchase the uranium excavated in Mecsek at a much higher price than the world market price, namely at \$60 a kilogram, and the enterprise was forced to reduce its costs to this level of \$60. Although the company succeeded in reducing its production costs to \$65 from \$108 in 1989, they accumulated a loss of about 400 million forints because of well-fires. Mecsekuran Ltd. was unable to finance these losses on its own. However, closing the mines would cause serious employment problems and would also considerably burden the budget; therefore, we need a government decision here.

Industry Ministry experts examined four possible alternatives for the fate of the mines. First: maintaining unchanged production. In this case, it would be possible to delay the expenses involved in the closure of the mines and the firing of the personnel until after the year 2,000, but some 800 million forints would have to be paid in the next two years, and the fuel-costs of the Nuclear Power Station in Paks would not decrease either. If the mines were closed immediately, the costs at Paks would decrease by 1.5 billion forints, but more than 3 billion forints would have to be paid for the closure in the coming two years, and the firing of 1,100 workers would also cause serious employment problems. The Industry Ministry does not regard the temporary halt in production as a good solution either, because expenses of more than 2 billion forints would be involved in such an action. Experts suggest that the mining should continue with a limited production. Losses can be minimal with an annual production of 200,000 metric tons, and personnel must only be reduced slightly. Besides, the expenses involved in closing the mines would extend past the turn of the century.

MDF Executive Chairman Views Tasks, Renewal

AU0711103294 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Nov 94 pp 1,4

[Report on interview with Ivan Szabo, executive chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Tibor J. Keri; place and date not given: "Renewal Without Massive Exclusions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fact that, in addition to the new faces, the founders and the old faces are also present in the national committee does not hinder the renewal of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]—MDF Executive Chairman Ivan Szabo told us. He pointed out that it would have been a political mistake to completely decapitate the party's old leadership and, with the exception of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], the parties do not have cadre reserves from the past. Szabo said that it is an important condition for the renewal of the MDF that, without giving up its values, the MDF should carry out a pragmatic policy by representing the interests of social strata and groups. The fact that nine new members are present in the MDF national committee also proves the party's desire for renewal—Ivan Szabo said. He also finds it necessary for success to have constructive cooperation with the opposition parties, especially with the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ].

Ivan Szabo mentioned the need to form good relations between the party and the media as the third area of renewal. He said that relations should be based on consideration for mutual interests. The person of Deputy Chairman Ferenc Kulin can also be a guarantee of that, a person charged with contacts between the party and the public.

"We will be fully open, and the MDF has contacts with both the National Federation of Hungarian Journalists

[MUOSZ] and the Hungarian Journalists' Community [MUK]. We will not be the ones to select the journalists. We do not expect them to love us either, but we do expect them to provide correct information"—Ivan Szabo told us. According to Szabo, they have achieved good results in their relations with the press, and the fact that a part of the media is forced to behave as an opposition because of well-understood business interests has also contributed to this.

Speaking about his party's relations with the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], Ivan Szabo told us that the ways of the two parties have parted, because the MIEP is attacking the MDF on something that represents its greatest value: The MIEP questions the regime-changing policy carried out by the MDF. In Szabo's view, it is fruitless to question the steps taken in the direction of democracy and market economy in the last four years, steps that have proved to be correct even from a historic viewpoint, irrespective of the fact that they were also accompanied by a lot of internal tension. "I do not think that all this makes it possible for the two parties to cooperate"—Ivan Szabo said. "Nor can we accept the fact that the MIEP is now using [the late prime minister] Jozsef Antall's name as a curse, so we do not have much to talk about"—Ivan Szabo added. Speaking about the Csurka-ideology within the party, Ivan Szabo pointed out that this ideology is present in the entire Hungarian society to a certain extent, but it does not present a coherent system. This ideology basically heads toward dismantling, and a good example for this is that the MIEP came up with a joint candidate for Budapest mayor with the Smallholders' Party, and this candidate will naturally take votes away from Gabor Demszky and not from Janos Latorcai [as published]. Ivan Szabo added that the organizational discipline of the MDF no longer provides too much scope for the Csurka-ideology. The change in the party's statute also serves this. According to the new formulation, anyone who has political principles that contradict those of the party should be excluded from the MDF. According to Szabo, at the organizational renewal of the party due after the local government elections, quite a number of members will have to be excluded from the MDF, but there will be no mass expulsions, because most of the Csurka-followers have already left the party. Similarly, anyone collecting nomination slips for someone not from the election coalition signed by the MDF during the local government election campaign will also be expelled from the party—Ivan Szabo told us.

Ivan Szabo does not regard as realistic the idea of a center-right political force made up of the three opposition parties—the MDF, the FIDESZ, and the KDNP—in the current parliamentary cycle. Ivan Szabo prefers a strong election coalition of these parties in 1998. However, as a result of natural development, Szabo regards such a union as possible in the long run.

Fur Views MDF's Position, Role of Opposition

AU0811114994 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 5 Nov 94 p 8

[Interview with Lajos Fur, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Dezso Pinter; place and date not given: "The Government Is Preparing Its Own Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Pinter] In about three years, how will society view the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]?

[Fur] With confidence and goodwill. However, only if our damaging internal debates are not repeated and the MDF does not have another period of self-reproach. Our politics will be modest and professional, will reflect people's true wishes, and people will notice this. We will be present in the social and cultural groups and I am certain already now that we will also find the right tone with the trade unions. The MDF will have a broad supporting movement.

[Pinter] Will you be relying on people who are in their current position thanks to the MDF?

[Fur] We are relying on them and on those people, too, who are being simply removed from their positions. The current government is inclined to refer to professionalism but it initiates the personnel changes clearly on the basis of political considerations in the majority of cases. In a well-functioning democracy, changes only take place among the political leaders. However, here, the personnel changes can be said to be brutal at the head of important state and economic institutions. Internationally recognized experts of professional areas are, it is claimed, fired for professional incompetence. That is mere slander. In fact—I must say in defense of the honor of the dismissed people and of the truth—it is a lie. Dismissals in the radio and television, overall personnel changes in the economy—what is all this if not a political cleanup?

[Pinter] With what goal?

[Fur] An intention toward restoration lies behind it. I do not assume that they want to restore state socialism in all respects but peculiar things lie deep in their conscience. Only those people can be trusted with whom they have once worked together, with whom they had created a world—this mainly applies to the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. The restoration efforts of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] can mainly—but not solely—be recognized in the media. A powerful push forward is going on in the whole country with a general uniformity, although sometimes with motivations that also divide the government coalition.

[Pinter] What kind of push forward do you mean?

[Fur] I am talking about the push forward by the old leadership who were driven into the background or who moved to other areas in 1989 or later. They aim at certain places and positions and they openly express

their requirements. This will also cause many clashes between the government coalition partners.

[Pinter] What else will cause clashes?

[Fur] The differences between the coalition partners are astonishing. The process in connection with the media bill and the fact that what was expected has happened, namely the two parliamentary groups voted differently, very well shows how different are the goals they are following. However, the differences are becoming increasingly obvious even in the MSZP's parliamentary group itself. [passage omitted]

[Pinter] In your view, what type of experiment is being tried by the three opposition parties—the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], the MDF, and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]—in setting a joint mayor candidate, Janos Latorcai, in Budapest?

[Fur] This is an exigency, rather than an experiment. The opposition parties only have a chance in the elections in Budapest—and other places in the country—if they work together. The three parties have recognized this. We did not spend much time assessing the identity or diversity of ideological goals, the important issue is to find common points in practice. Naturally, this will give us experience on the viability of this model.

[Pinter] In your view, how natural is the fact that the FIDESZ has also found a place in this model?

[Fur] The FIDESZ acted logically. During the past 12 to 18 months, it has made it clear that it is a liberal and civic type party, rather than a left-wing party.

[Pinter] Is the FIDESZ a liberal party in your view?

[Fur] I see it as a liberal party that has very strong national affiliations, which can in many respects be compared to the stance of the KDNP and the MDF.

[Pinter] Do you expect a contest to begin in this model for the leading force or the leading personality of the opposition?

[Fur] [passage omitted] In politics, many leading personalities can exist at the same time, especially while various parties are cooperating. The situation would be different if the establishment of a closer alliance was considered—perhaps some kind of union that has been mentioned by various people.

[Pinter] What are your views on such a union of the current opposition parties?

[Fur] If it is ever to be established, it will be in the distant future, therefore, I am not even thinking about it. I am interested in the practical issues of cooperation.

[Pinter] What relations do you expect the three opposition parties to have with the Independent Smallholders Party [FKGP]?

[Fur] Life is diverse, cooperation between the MDF and the FKGP, or the KDNP, the FIDESZ, and the FKGP exists in very many places in the provinces. Many variations exist. [passage omitted]

Potential Shift in U.S. Stand on NATO Viewed*WS0711131794 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Nov 94 p 6*

[Article by Jacek Kalabinski from Washington: "Washington Working on Extending NATO; Military People Support"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington would like the December meeting of NATO foreign ministers to issue a joint communique specifying the criteria the countries applying for membership in this organization would have to meet. However, the schedule of admitting new members to NATO will not be published so as not to irritate Moscow.

As was reported in the Sunday edition of THE WASHINGTON POST, U.S. diplomats are holding intensive consultations with representatives of other NATO capitals to work out an acceptable formula for all.

Anthony Lake, President Clinton's national security adviser, supports the idea of specifying the membership criteria rather soon, so that the countries that are interested will be able to start preparing their armed forces for that. Lake, like Ambassador Madeleine Albright, U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, keeps saying that the issue is not whether NATO will be extended but when and how. Alexander Vershbow, director of the National Security Council for European issues, recently went even further and told reporters that he expects NATO to be extended in the first half of Clinton's second term of office—that is, in two to four years' time.

Opinions on admission of East European states are divided in both the Department of State and the Defense Department. Diplomatic sources in Washington told GAZETA WYBORCZA: "Supporters of Russia in the Department of State recently submitted the argument that it is not clear to what extent the Army in Poland is under civilian control."

It is worth adding that Strobe Talbott, the main opponent of admitting Poland to NATO and first deputy secretary of state, has not been making any public statements on this issue recently.

An intensive campaign against admitting Poland to NATO is being waged by the influential daily THE NEW YORK TIMES, which on Saturday published the fourth editorial on this issue in recent weeks. "The West must first of all resist the temptation to admit Poland and the rest of East Europe to an extended NATO. Russian military planners will certainly perceive such an extension of NATO as a serious regional threat and, as a result, will be even less inclined to reduce their Armed Forces," writes THE NEW YORK TIMES.

To calm the "Russian military planners," THE NEW YORK TIMES proposes that Russia be included in the Western military flight control system. It also proposes

to build apartments for officers discharged from the Russian Army. THE NEW YORK TIMES suggests that General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "is best qualified to hold extended talks on the reduction of Russia's conventional Armed Forces because he understands what risk the extension of NATO would involve." On Sunday, Gen. Shalikashvili's office did not answer GAZETA WYBORCZA's question as to whether he really shares this opinion.

THE WASHINGTON POST claims that the White House first wants to calm Russia by concluding many agreements on cooperation with the West, and only then does it want to start admitting new members to NATO—when Russia no longer perceives NATO as a threat. The daily stresses that Russia has already obtained the right to hold consultations with NATO on the most important strategic issues.

U.S. military sources told GAZETA WYBORCZA that, after the exercises in Biedrusko and experiences related to the cooperation with the Polish commando unit, there is a desire to tighten military cooperation with Poland. "The biggest barrier is not politics but language. Polish soldiers must really speak English, which is the working language of NATO," GAZETA WYBORCZA learned from a high-ranking military official from the Pentagon.

Possible 'Misunderstanding' With Israel Looms*WS0711154194 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Nov 94 p 1*

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik and Eli Barbur from Tel Aviv: "Arafat and Oswiecim"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We may soon witness a gross misunderstanding in Polish-Israeli relations. It concerns the visit of Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat, a winner of this year's Nobel Peace Prize, to the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Oswiecim [Auschwitz] liberation in January.

Israeli politicians are against inviting 'Arafat. What is more, they are convinced that he will not be invited.

The person who came up with the idea of inviting all Nobel Peace Prize winners to Oswiecim for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the camp's liberation is Lech Walesa, who is a Nobel Prize winner himself (1983).

The invitations for this year's Nobel Prize winners—Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, Israeli Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres, and 'Arafat—were signed by Walesa in late October. Now they are lying in a drawer because it was decided that the three people will be real Nobel Prize winners only after 10 December, when they are presented with their prizes.

Meanwhile, Shim'on Peres stated in a weekend interview for the military radio station Galey Tzahal that "Poland

apparently became tired of the protests against inviting 'Arafat and gave up its plans."

A spokesman for the Israeli Foreign Ministry also told GAZETA WYBORCZA yesterday: "The Polish party gave up the idea of inviting this year's Nobel Peace Prize winners to the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Oswiecim's liberation."

So far, however, no official objections concerning the invitation of 'Arafat to Oswiecim have been submitted to the President's Chancellery. The Chancellery knows only from leaks that this decision has not been well received in Israel.

"We are waiting until the prizes are presented. This is the only reason the invitations have not been sent yet," we were assured yesterday by Marek Karpinski, of the President's Chancellery. He added: "Well, Israel was glad to see 'Arafat be given a Nobel Prize. Why should we not invite him?"

It is already known, however, that Andrzej Zakrzewski, of the President's Chancellery, will speak with the Israeli prime minister or minister of foreign affairs by phone tomorrow. He will ask whether the Israeli Nobel Prize winners will boycott the ceremony if 'Arafat comes to Poland.

What if they answer that they will not come? "Then we will have a problem, and we will think about what we should do," said Karpinski, who does not seem worried at the moment.

Milczanowski, Croatian Counterpart Sign Accords

LD08111113/4 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0946 GMT
8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Warsaw, 8 Nov—Andrzej Milczanowski and Ivan Jarnjak, ministers of internal affairs of Poland and Croatia, have signed in Warsaw today two Polish-Croatian agreements—an intergovernmental agreement on readmission and an interdepartmental agreement on cooperation in crime prevention and its detection.

The agreement on readmission is designed to protect against unforeseen migration movements from Croatia, Milczanowski told journalists.

Asked about his trip to Russia, Milczanowski said that he expected a matter-of-fact approach from both sides to security of Russian citizens in Poland and Polish citizens in Russia.

Walesa Rejects Defense Minister's Nominations

WS0811124694 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in
Polish 8 Nov 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Drawsko Continues"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The president refused to sign nominations for the rank of general for six officers from

outside the General Staff [GS], put forward by Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk. "This is the first blow the president has dealt us," a high-ranking official of the National Defense Ministry [MON] commented.

Kolodziejczyk's list included 19 colonels and generals of the GS and MON. Kolodziejczyk did not agree to the proposal of the GS head, in line with which the list should also encompass his own candidates: General Edmund Bolociuch, General Julian Lewinski, and Vice Admiral Romuald Waga. All of them took part in the 30 September Drawsko dinner at which, in the presence of the president, a vote of no-confidence in Minister Kolodziejczyk was taken.

General Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the GS, proposed that they be nominated for arms general. Wilecki is the only nonretired general of this rank at the moment.

The president, in his turn, crossed six officers off Kolodziejczyk's list. All of them represent the civilian section of MON: Brigade General Roman Harmoza, as well as Lieutenant Colonels Tadeusz Balachowicz, Antoni Grzedzinski, Michal Krauze, Kazimierz Madej, and Witold Szymanski.

"I certainly do accept the president's decision. However, I am taken aback," we were told by Minister Kolodziejczyk. "As a rule, a negative decision is accompanied by some explanation; this time there was no such explanation."

Presidential Spokesman Leszek Spalinski said yesterday that "Lech Walesa lost confidence in Minister Kolodziejczyk, and he expects him to resign." Minister Kolodziejczyk himself is going to submit a program for improving the situation in MON, based on conclusions drafted by the Sejm subcommittee. He will present this program to Prime Minister Pawlak when he returns from Great Britain. The minister will also want to meet with the president.

Kolodziejczyk To Request Meeting With Walesa

LD0711201694 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish
1830 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk will be seeking a meeting with President Lech Walesa to clarify the current situation within the Defense Ministry.

[Unidentified correspondent] Commenting on the results of the work of the Sejm national defense subcommittee, created to examine the crisis in the Defense Ministry, Spalinski, the presidential press spokesman, said that Lech Walesa had lost confidence in Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

[Begin recording] [Spalinski] The attitude toward the minister is as it has been hitherto. The president, to put it quite simply, basically has lost confidence in this minister.

[Kolodziejczyk] I refuse to comment at this moment. I hope that a further meeting will transpire, one that I will be seeking with the president, and that we will clarify for ourselves the situation in which the armed forces have found themselves, and not just the armed forces. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Minister Kolodziejczyk confirmed that six officers whom he had put forward for nomination as generals had been rejected by the president. There were 19 candidatures on the list. All of those struck from the list represent the civilian side within the ministry.

Poll Tracks Public Support for Ruling Coalition

WS0711155694 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by J.B.L.: "OBOP on Coalitions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Twenty-eight percent of Poles believe that Poland should continue to be governed by the current coalition, and 16 percent would accept the present government just as readily as a coalition of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Freedom Union [UW]. This was reported by the main television newscast "Wiadomosci" yesterday, quoting a study conducted by the Center for Research of Public Opinion [OBOP] before the two parties agreed on a joint candidate for mayor of Warsaw.

Twelve percent of respondents believe that the SLD and UW should govern jointly; every second member of the parties is willing to support such a coalition. Thus, a coalition of the Polish Peasant Party and the SLD would be backed by 44 percent of respondents, and a coalition of the SLD and UW would be supported by 28 percent. Twenty-one percent of respondents would like an entirely new government, without the SLD. Half of them would like it to be formed by parties of a "Solidarity" origin.

SLD, UW Deny Rumors of New Coalition

WS0811083994 Warsaw GAZETA SWIATECZNA in Polish 5-6 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Wlodzimierz Bogaczyk of Poznan, (raf), and Janusz Jaros of Kalisz: "Geremek and Kwasniewski on Rapprochement Between UW and SLD; Still in Opposition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The election of Marcin Swieicki of Freedom Union [UW] as the Warsaw mayor, thanks to an agreement between UW and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], has given rise to speculation on a rapprochement between these parties. Yesterday Bronislaw Geremek and Aleksander Kwasniewski denied rumors that they may form a parliamentary coalition.

The UW Parliamentary Club head explained the party's stand on Radio "Zet": "The policy of the Pawlak government is a policy of the coalition made up of the SLD

and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]. We do not approve of the policy of this government. We are critical of this year's balance sheet of its activities. We believe that this government is stopping the process of reforms in Poland, and we firmly oppose that."

According to Geremek, UW does not have to decide whether it is the PSL or the SLD that is stopping reforms the most. "This government has been formed by the largest party in the parliament, the SLD. Thus, it is this party that is responsible for the government's balance sheet."

Geremek believes that rumors concerning the possibility of both parties' forming a coalition are a consequence of the SLD's tactics: "Even though the prime minister is a representative of the weaker grouping in this coalition, it has turned out that the stronger SLD does not have sufficient means of pressure on the prime minister. Thus, it is trying to take advantage of UW. It threatens the prime minister: 'If not, we will find another partner.' It does not have such a partner right now. UW is in opposition and will remain there."

Also, SLD Chairman Aleksander Kwasniewski told journalists yesterday in Poznan that the accord concluded with UW for the purpose of electing the Warsaw mayor will not result in the formation of a new coalition in the Sejm: "We agree on many programmatic issues with UW. This party should be cooperated with, even if it is in opposition. In Warsaw, it has turned out that it is not possible to govern the gmina [smallest administrative unit] without an agreement between the SLD and UW. However, this does not mean any changes in the government coalition, just as PSL Deputy Bogdan Pek's attendance at a conference of the center right does not mean a coalition of the peasants with the extraparlimentary opposition."

However, Labor Minister Leszek Miller (SLD) said yesterday in Kalisz that a coalition between his party and UW is likely, but after the next election. "As long as it is included in the preelection agreement," he added.

UW, SLD Deputies May Recall PSL Deputy

WS0811093594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 7 Nov 94 p 1

[Article by Piotr Zaremba: "Coalition Breaks Up"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Tuesday, deputies of Freedom Union [UW] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] will try to recall Polish Peasant Party [PSL] Deputy Bogdan Pek from the post of head of the Sejm Privatization Committee. His successor is to be UW's Wladyslaw Frasyniuk. "We will demand resignation from Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek," the peasants are threatening.

UW and SLD members are saying off the record that the leaders of both clubs, Aleksander Kwasniewski and Bronislaw Geremek, have reached an agreement about

the recall of Pek. The recall of the peasant was negotiated simultaneously with the issue of a self-government coalition between both groupings in Warsaw.

Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk insisted most on recalling Pek. He is to be the SLD and UW's candidate for committee head. It is not known, however, whether both groupings will be able to force their decisions. They are represented by 19 deputies in the committee, and the committee consists of 36 deputies. Members of the PSL, the Confederation for an Independent Poland, Union of Labor, and the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms will probably be against the motion.

SLD politicians deny that their leaders are involved in the Pek case. "This is an autonomous decision of the committee members," Szmajdzinski says. "However, it should be decided which PSL is the true one—the PSL of Prime Minister Pawlak, who is traveling all over the world and assuring everyone that he wants privatization, or the PSL of Deputy Pek, who presents privatization as total theft and national treason."

"We will vote against Pek because he depicts privatization as if it were just one big theft," ZYCIE WARSZAWY learned from Marek Zielinski of UW. Peasants are defending Pek. "This is not a decision concerning the substance of the matter. He is the litmus paper of a possible coalition between UW and the SLD," says Janusz Piechocinski.

Unofficially, the PSL club announced that, in retaliation, a motion may be submitted requesting the recall of SLD Privatization Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek. Pek criticized him for starting the privatization of the tobacco industry, and several dozen peasant deputies signed a motion last summer requesting that the post-communist be recalled.

There was unofficial talk in the Sejm that, in the beginning, some PSL leaders were prepared to agree to the recall of Pek on condition that Bronislaw Geremek be recalled from the post of head of the Foreign Affairs Committee. The agreement reached by the SLD and UW in Warsaw complicated these plans.

The Chief Council of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic demanded that the PSL make changes in the government policy. The demands will be discussed at a joint session of the coalition parliamentary clubs.

Daily Details Personnel Changes in MSZ

WS0811124894 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Cezary Gmyz: "Olechowski Finally Has New Deputies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Olechowski wanted Under Secretary of State Iwo Byczewski to be nominated as his first deputy—that is, a secretary of state. His nomination has

not yet been signed. No one in the Government's Press Office or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] was able to tell us whether the prime minister had refused to sign the nomination or whether he was still thinking about it.

Olechowski put forward these three nominations on 1 September. For a long time, the government was not able to decide on the statute that changed structures within the MSZ. It then entrusted the reform to Michal Strak, who is in charge of reforming the entire administration. In this situation, Olechowski, who became irritated, withdrew the draft statute and started implementing MSZ reform within his powers.

As a result, he created the post of political director, which was assumed by Andrzej Towpik. "The political director will be the main thinker in the ministry," Olechowski told ZYCIE WARSZAWY at that time. "He will specify the directions of foreign policy."

"The post of political director within the MSZ is not unknown in the European Union [EU]. These people are responsible for coordinating the joint foreign policy within the EU. In other European states, the political director coordinates the main elements of foreign policy. In Poland, the main issue will be integration into the EU," ZYCIE WARSZAWY learned from MSZ Spokesman Wladyslaw Klaczynski. Director Towpik will deal with both these issues.

Eugeniusz Wyzner was a deputy to the UN general secretary for conferences and special tasks in the 1980's. Later on, also as a deputy to the UN general secretary, he was in charge of the segment of Public Information in the United Nations. He was a Polish ambassador twice (to Geneva and New York). He also headed the following MSZ departments: Department of Law and Treaties and the Department of International Organizations. Andrzej Towpik was the head of the MSZ Department of European Institutions. He has held the office of MSZ political director since September of this year.

Legislative Work of Defense Ministry Discussed

94EP0009A Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 17 Oct 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Stanislaw Lukaszewski: "This Impasse Should Not Exist"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Legislative work at the Ministry of National Defense was assessed at a press conference attended by Deputy Minister Danuta Waniek. Also present, among others, was Brigadier General Kazimierz Nalaskowski, director of the Legal Department at the Ministry of National Defense. In the opinion of the deputy minister, the ministry's accomplishments in that domain have been huge, contrary to the widespread opinion wronging it. The absence of final results of the work on legislation concerning the military is due chiefly to a jurisdictional dispute. Under the law in force, Deputy Minister Waniek stressed, such a stalemate is not supposed to exist.

To be properly appreciated, the ministry's accomplishments in this domain start with its reform program, approved by the Council of Ministers in July 1991. That program provided for, among other things, amending certain laws and regulations. The chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers was placed under the obligation of drafting as soon as possible a law on the amending of legislation concerning the scope of activities of the minister of national defense and the guidelines for directing and commanding the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic and submitting it for deliberation by the government.

But the law could not be passed, despite the special request submitted in October 1991 by Minister Krzysztof Zabinski. The Jan Olszewski administration did not support the draft law, so it was returned to the Sejm. As a result, there is still no law governing the office of the minister of national defense, other than, vicariously, the law on universal military training, dating back to 1967 and repeatedly amended.

At present, the Sejm's Committee on National Defense intends to submit its own draft law on the office of the minister of national defense. However, the related proposals are limited by the provisions of the Small Constitution and the Law on Universal Military Training in the Polish Republic.

Legislative work also included preparing a draft law on the duties of citizens as regards the universal duty of national defense. That draft law has been passed and has taken effect.

The amending of laws did not require new executive acts. Since the end of 1991, a total of 29 executive orders and 25 ordinances of the minister of national defense have been issued.

The orders and ordinances issued as intraministry regulations have the validity of national laws binding on and accessible to every citizen. They were followed by 600 implementing regulations of the Ministry of National Defense (orders and decisions published in the ministry's *DZIENNIK ROZKAZOW* or unpublished). In addition to the amending of laws on the initiative of the Ministry of National Defense, the Sejm passed the following laws: On the Establishment of the Day of the Polish Army; On the Military Oath; On the Insignia of the Armed Forces of the Polish Republic; and On Retirement Benefits for the Career Military.

During the years 1991-94, the ministry's Legal Department also presented the position of the Ministry of National Defense on 7,000 draft government documents and proposals offered by deputies, including some 300 draft laws. From the ministry's standpoint and from that of broadly conceived national defense, the most important were the recommendations presented concerning draft laws on the construction law, cultural activity, normalization, hunting, and church-state relations.

When Dr. Danuta Waniek became deputy minister on 26 April 1994, she started organizing a section that includes, among others, the Parliamentary Office of the Ministry of National Defense. The agencies involved joined in the ministry's legislative work. This year the number of laws being drafted at the ministry has increased. Of these, the most important are:

1. Law on the Powers of National Agencies in the National Defense System of the Polish Republic. Two years ago, while in session, the National Defense Committee resolved that the leading government agency on national defense affairs should in the future be the National Security Council, which will replace that committee and have decisionmaking powers. The president announced that the council will be appointed immediately after the necessary legislative changes, including the Small Constitution, are carried out. The National Defense Committee also supported the president's proposal to appoint a Committee for Defense Affairs under the Council of Ministers (KSORM).

The Ministry of National Defense started work on amending the constitutional law on relations between the legislative and executive branches of the government as well as on local governments, and also on a law amending the law on universal military training and certain other laws. The original drafts of these amendments were presented for interministerial coordination and discussed at plenary deliberations of the Council of Ministers, the KSORM, and the National Defense Committee. However, the ministry's proposals were not approved because of, among other things, the decision of the political leadership that there exist no foundations for amending the Small Constitution.

2. Package of laws on states of emergency. The National Security Office had earlier drafted a package of laws on states of national emergency (martial law, state of war, state of emergency) as well as on the National Guard. Because these draft laws encroached upon the constitutional prerogatives of the president, the heads of the Ministry of National Defense transmitted them to the Presidential Chancellery on suggesting that the president use his power to initiate the related legislation.

3. Law on the billeting of the armed forces. Three draft laws were prepared. The latest version was subjected to interministerial coordination with 43 agencies. Several days ago, it was accepted by the government.

4. Law on the management of certain Treasury assets administered by the organizational units of the Ministry of National Defense, on establishing the Military Property Agency, and on amending certain laws. A draft of that law was transmitted for interministerial coordination last July. Of the 30 agencies consulted, a large proportion questioned the admissibility of enacting the proposed law before a comprehensive assessment of issues relating to the institutionalization of management of Treasury-owned property.

5. Law on military duty and defense obligations. This law was drafted by the General Staff of the Polish Army and transmitted to its chief and the under secretary of state for parliamentary affairs at the Ministry of National Defense. Minister Danuta Waniek passed on her comments. Most of her recommendations were included.

6. Law on amending the law on the military service of the career military. A preliminary draft of that law was submitted last June by the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army to the minister of national defense. The proposal was not accepted, so the ministry's Legal Department is now continuing to refine it.

7. Law on military discipline. A task force to be chaired by Minister Waniek will be appointed, with the object of drafting that law. The Legal Department of the Ministry of National Defense has prepared the legal framework to serve as the basis for further work by that task force.

8. Charter of Rights of the Soldier. The draft "charter" will derive from the law on military discipline.

9. Manual of Disciplinary Rules of the Armed Forces. The draft of this act, so far issued in the form of an executive order of the minister of national defense, was prepared in 1992. Since then, several new different versions of this act have been prepared. Last February, the version accepted by the ministry was presented to other ministries for coordination. It was commented upon by the Supreme Court's Office of Judicial Decisions. These comments are being considered by the General Staff of the Polish Army. It is assumed that the draft manual may be submitted for signing to the minister of national defense as early as this coming October.

So much for chronology. At the press conference, Gen. Kazimierz Nalaskowski clarified, among other things, debatable issues relating to the amending of the law on the military service of the career military.

Availing herself of this occasion, Deputy Minister Waniek told the reporters that she was denying the accusations from Drawsk that she had supposedly prepared a questionnaire for the military concerning the implementation of the principle of freedom of conscience and creed. "I wish to declare," she said, "that neither I nor my associates have prepared any questionnaire dealing with that issue."

But, to return to the subject of legislative work at the Ministry of National Defense, we are yet to adapt military legislation as a whole to international requirements. This is highly important to us, Minister Waniek emphasized, because the contacts between the Polish armed forces and the West are and will be increasingly frequent. Such contacts must also be based on specific legal provisions, and that should be our goal.

Danuta Waniek, deputy minister of national defense, voiced the hope that legislative work at the Ministry of National Defense will finally be crowned with success in the near future.

Poll Rates Media Coverage of Government

WS0711135194 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
4 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by Renata Wrobel: "Demand for Information"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Every second Pole feels inadequately informed about the prime minister's activities. Nearly as many people claim they would like to obtain more thorough information on the work of the government and the president. Among the state authorities, the parliament is best covered. More than one in five Poles declare that they do not want any information on the top authorities because they are not interested in politics. Such are the findings of an opinion poll conducted by the Social Research Laboratory (PBS) at the request of RZECZPOSPOLITA.*

The Silent Prime Minister

All of the cabinets since 1989 were accused of conducting inadequate information policies. The present head of government is criticized most of all. Waldemar Pawlak is referred to as the "silent prime minister," and his relations with journalists are tense and of poor quality. He often accuses the press of dishonesty, and, in return, is accused of being unable to communicate and of putting an embargo on information. Ewa Wachowicz, the prime minister's press secretary, has been making rare appearances in the media for a long time and, in comparison with her predecessors, is not a very active public relations campaigner for her boss and his activities.

Over one-half of all those polled and more than two-thirds of respondents who claim they are interested in politics would like to be informed more thoroughly of the activities of the head of the Council of Ministers. Supporters of the Polish Peasant Party do not feel better informed about "their" prime minister than the rest.

Ministers-Informers

There are many more sources of information on the government than on the prime minister. Perhaps that is why respondents tend to feel less misinformed in this respect. Waldemar Pawlak's government is the second one, after Hanna Suchocka's cabinet, that has not appointed a press spokesman. It was considered too complex and risky an issue in the case of a coalition government. Therefore, its activities are covered by the Government Press Office and the press services of specific ministries. Some ministers, such as Labor Minister Leszek Miller, do everything they can to make their activities known to the public at large. Government officials who are not satisfied with the media have at their disposal a special page in RZECZPOSPOLITA, the content of which depends completely on the requester. There is also a weekly television program devoted to the activities of the government (alongside other programs on the president and parliament).

Straight From the Belweder

It might seem that it is difficult not to know what the president is doing. Lech Walesa gives many interviews and makes many statements, does not avoid journalists, and often meets politicians and "ordinary" people. His controversial statements rarely get by without making echoes, and his unconventional statements are quoted long after they are made. Nearly half of those polled (and 60 percent of respondents claiming to be interested in politics) would like to get more information. Perhaps people are not satisfied with official reports on Lech Walesa's activities and would like to learn more behind-the-scenes details of the president's decisions.

Broadcasts From the Parliament

Most satisfying is the media coverage of parliament, perhaps because the majority of Sejm debates and extensive segments of the Senate sessions are broadcast on television and radio, although they no longer cause the

same emotions as the "contractual" Sejm did. The parliamentary debate during those times was exciting news. Currently, few debates are met with such widespread interest.

I am not sufficiently informed about the activities of:

	Percent	
	All Respondents	Respondents Interested in Politics
Prime Minister	53	68
Government	48	61
President	47	60
Parliament	39	50

The poll was conducted by PBS for RZECZPOSPOLITA on 22-23 October on a representative sample of 1,040 adult Poles.

Iliescu Desires Rapprochement With NATO, EU
*BR0711152294 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in
French 7 Nov 94 p 5*

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Michel Rosten; place and date not given: "Ion Iliescu Reiterates his Interest in Joining NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rosten] You were keen to meet [NATO Secretary General] Claes during your stay in Brussels. What do you think of the statement made by [Russian Foreign Minister] Kozyrev, who recently recommended that there not be too hasty a rapprochement between NATO and Central and East Europe?

[Iliescu] We expressed our opinion clearly upon entering the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and when we were the first to join the Partnership for Peace. We feel that NATO can and must play an active role for stability and for the security of European countries. We are interested in participating in this process and we are even hoping to become full members of the alliance. I do not wish to comment on Mr. Kozyrev's statements. That is his position. It reflects certain Russian interests. We feel that we must have normal relations with Moscow. Moreover, we think that the opening up shown by the European institutions toward Russia is correct: It helps the democratic institutions of that great country. However, it is not up to Russia to define the conduct of other states.

[Rosten] Within this Atlantic context, are you not bothered by the positions you have taken on the Bosnian issue in meeting recently with the Serbian leadership?

[Iliescu] But we also met with the Croatian leadership, and we had contacts with [Bosnian President] Izetbegovic in New York. This means that Romania is maintaining open relations with all the states that have appeared in the area covered by Yugoslavia.

[Rosten] Will it be easier for you to become a member of the alliance instead of the European Union [EU], despite the effort you have made in the area of major privatizations?

[Iliescu] We have direct relations with the EU. We are going through a very important period, namely the ratification of the agreement we signed with the EU last year to become an associate member. Belgium is the last country that has to ratify that agreement and allow it to enter into force. This will be a very important step for us in the integration process.

[Rosten] Recently, the king tried to return to Romania. Upon his arrival in Bucharest, he was asked to return to Paris. Do you think that he represents a threat to the country's stability?

[Iliescu] You yourself said "the king." He is the former king. He would like to return to Romania as the king, but there is a constitutional order that he has to respect. A national referendum on the constitution confirmed our country's status as a republic. So, as a person he is welcome, as he was when he traveled to Romania two years ago. However, he must respect the option chosen by the people.

[Rosten] Romania's relations with Hungary, which have long been obscured by the problem of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, are improving. Is it the return to power of the Socialists in Budapest that is encouraging this development?

[Iliescu] We appreciate the more realistic position taken by the new Hungarian government. We are starting from the principle that we have to develop good neighborly relations. The problems of minorities are not specific to Hungary. This is a general problem for Europe. There is not a single country that does not have a national echo of compatriots living on the territory of another state. When certain politicians in Budapest report on the situation of Hungarians abroad, they do not talk about a single case. Romania can say the same: A third of Romanians live outside Romania's borders. There are 23 million of us, but more than 10 million of our compatriots live abroad. Under these conditions, why make a special case of the Hungarian minority? We should also talk about the German and Italian minorities, and so on. In Romania, we have counted 14 minorities, all of which are represented in parliament.

[Rosten] So far, the Romanian opposition has suffered from divisions. At the last presidential elections, Mr. Constantinescu tried to bring the opposition back together. Do you think that this effort is likely, in the long term, to be a threat to the equilibrium of [Premier] Vacaroiu's government?

[Iliescu] It is difficult to make predictions about this because the country's entire political scene is constantly changing. Before the revolution, one party had the monopoly on power. In reaction to this, after December 1989, we witnessed an explosion: More than 200 parties were created. During the last elections in 1992, more than 90 of these parties put forward candidates. Only seven lists obtained seats in parliament; and Mr. Constantinescu, the candidate from the Democratic Convention, represented only one of them. The Democratic Convention still exists. It is undergoing an internal debate. However, there are opposition parties that are not members of it. This means that there is development in all directions: This brings some parties together and splits others apart. I think this process will continue. How the coalitions will be put together is another question.

Serbs Use Tanks, Mortars on Zvornik Front*AU0711153894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 7 Nov 94*

[Report by Nijaz Banjanovic from the Zvornik front]

[FBIS Translated Text] At around 1000 the Chetniks started shelling the wider area of Vitinica using tanks and 120-mm mortars from the direction of Androvici and Bijela Zemlja. One civilian sustained serious injuries and fresh material damage was inflicted by the 20 shells fired at residential buildings in this village. Using M-84 machine guns and snipers the Chetniks from Pecina and Parlog sporadically shelled Sapna, Kraljevici, and Zaseok.

Serbs Amassing Heavy Artillery South of Sarajevo*AU0711201394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina
Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mirudin Aldobasic has reported that the enemy has been launching unsuccessful attacks in an attempt to regain the recently lost territory, but also to restore the withering morale of his soldiers and the population in Teslic. Every day the situation is becoming more complex here since it is only a matter of time before the units of the 7-South Operative Group enter Teslic and Banja Vrucica.

There has been no peace today either in the theater of operations of the 7th Corps. The Chetniks have been doing everything to recapture the newly liberated areas, using artillery along our entire defense line on the Bugojno-Kupres front. This is a report by Sead Suskic:

[Begin Suskic recording] Despite the enormous losses they suffered during the battles for the Kupres heights, the Chetniks received new reinforcements, and tried several infantry breakthroughs following heavy artillery preparations. However, the brave lads from the joint units of the 7th Corps successfully repulsed all these attacks, so the aggressor's infantry had to withdraw to their original positions. Of course there are always fewer of them in retreat since a number of Chetniks have forever left their bones on the scene of fierce infantry clashes. As for the situation on the Donji Vakuf-Komarsko front, the Chetniks have been firing with antiaircraft weapons and small arms, and sporadically shelling the positions of our fighters with mortars. The Chetniks have also not been quiet on the Vlasica Plateau and the Turbe front. However, our fighters have only been responding with fire as the need arose. The Chetniks always fall silent when faced by the adequate response from our golden lilies [reference to Bosnia-Herzegovina Army soldiers]. There is no need even to talk about the stability of our lines, since they can only be moved forward. [end recording]

The aggressor has been intensifying his activities also against the free parts of the Bihac commune, particularly the newly-liberated territory and the defense lines of the 5th Corps fighters, reports Muhamed Mulic. The enemy has been using all sorts of weapons in these attacks,

particularly his artillery. The fighters of our army have been successfully repelling all the aggressor's attacks, holding all the defense lines under control. The Chetniks from the UN Protected Areas [in Croatia] today again fired with artillery at the area of Velika Kladusa, where one girl was killed and several people were injured.

Despite all the protection measures that the Security Council has undertaken, the aggressor has not been quiet in the region of the protected zone of Zepa. The Chetniks fired mortars at this commune, and fired with antiaircraft guns and machine guns at the villages on the Zepa territory. The UN peacekeepers did not react to this as they do not have the mandate, even though they witnessed the attacks on the protected zone. This has been reported by Fadil Begic.

Edin Cabarabdic reports that today the Chetniks from Ilijas—which is within the Sarajevo protected zone—shelled Breza. Fortunately the only consequence of this attack was material damage.

The daily Chetnik provocative fire at the protected area of Srebrenica has continued. Shelling of villages in the outskirts of the Srebrenica commune is increasingly frequent. Yesterday two girls were injured, one seriously, by a mortar fired at the village of Diljak. We have received this report from Muharem Becirevic.

The 1st Corps Information Service reports that the aggressor today has fired with an antiaircraft machine gun and four mortars from Trebevic at Kozja Cuprija. One person was wounded. One mortar has been fired at Kolacusa, and one at Foca Street. A machine gun from Kromolj has been firing at Blekin Potok. Several antiaircraft gun barrages have been fired at Sjenicka Kosa. Several rifle grenades have been fired from Nedzarici and Grbavica at our defense lines, while one person was injured by small arms fire directed at Vrbanja Most. There has also been sniper fire from Kromolj at Jezera, and four mortars have been fired from Poljine at Slatina Kula. Enemy small arms fire has been intense at the Hrasnica-Pazaric road. Two grenades from a hand-held rocket launcher from Brezovaca have been fired at the defense lines. The aggressor is still amassing his forces in the region of Treskavica, particularly in the area of Male Stijene, Djokin Toranj, and Kukovi. A concentration of heavy artillery has been reported in Hresa, Krivodol, Rajski Dol, and the village of Turovi.

Salih Hadzialic reports that there has been intense small arms fire on the Visoko front, as well as fire from antiaircraft weapons and artillery, particularly at the Kralupe part. Six shells have landed on our positions. A tank has been firing at the Visoko-Breza road, and a sniper at the defense lines and the Visoko center. Our positions in Borak and Zege have also been exposed to intense small arms fire. Intelligence information speaks of new regrouping of the Chetnik forces in the area of Crnac.

According to the report by Fahrudin Becic, exactly at noon today the Chetniks from Podgrebi started to pound the free

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Gorazde territory with howitzers. They also fired with multiple rocket launchers, mortars, tanks, and small arms.

As for the Zvornik territory, the aggressor has continued today to fire with artillery at civilian targets. Three civilians suffered serious injuries in the attacks, and the material damage is considerable, Nijaz Banjanovic has reported.

Croats Confirm Muslim Gains North of Sarajevo

LD0711180094 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The command of the Bobovac Home Guards Brigade of Vares [Bosnian Croat forces] has confirmed the military victories scored by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's First Corps in the fighting against the Serb Republic Army around Vares and Mt. Cemerska.

In a strong counterattack yesterday, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army captured the strategically important points of Macak, Bunjevici, Kojica Brdo, Stomorine, Mosevacko Brdo, Polom, and Jasen. The Bosnian army is vigorously advancing from these positions and pushing back the Serb army. The First Corps has considerably shortened the length of the frontline, and is expelling the Serb forces that are covering the panicked withdrawal of the Serb population.

The Serbs are investing tremendous, but unsuccessful efforts into reinforcing their positions in the area of Sekovici, Husici, Drincici, Buljetovina, and Glavina because their units there have been routed and are not likely to link up again, the Croat Defense Council's Bobovac Division claims.

The Bobovac Division of Vares has mounted a mortar and anti-aircraft gun attack against Serb army positions near Toljenko, the Brigade's command has reported, stressing that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Serb army were also fighting along the frontline in the wider Kiseljak area, around Ostriak and Kamenolom.

Non-Serbs Fleeing Banja Luka Mobilization

AO0711170794 Paris AFP in English 1629 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 7 (AFP)—Some 700 people—mostly Moslems, Croats and Gypsies—Monday [7 Nov] fled Serb-held northern Bosnia, fearing they might otherwise face forced labour or other reprisals as Serbs mobilize for war, a UN official said here.

The 700 crossed over from the Banja Luka region into nearby areas of Croatia policed by UN Jordanian and Nepali forces, according to Peter Kessler, a UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) spokesman.

Those leaving Monday were "seeking safety from ethnic terror and discrimination," Kessler said, adding that the sudden surge—twice the usual weekly figure—follows a general mobilisation order throughout Bosnian Serb-held territory.

The departure of the 700 also comes two days ahead of a meeting of the Bosnian Serb Assembly which is expected to proclaim martial law in the wake of recent Moslem-led government attacks.

Tension was running high in places such as Banja Luka, where the UNHCR has an office, and ethnic Moslems and Croats were being told they should leave immediately or face possible retaliation from neighbours as government forces advance from the west.

The people leaving were "exercising their right to seek safety," Kessler said.

Large numbers of non-ethnic Serbs have left Serb-held areas over the past two years, either as a result of "ethnic cleansing" operations or because of pressure on them to go.

Heightened Serb Shelling Reported in Zvornik

AU0811114794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by Nijaz Banjanovic from the Zvornik front]

[FBIS Translated Text] A veritable hell has broken out on the free Zvornik territory. At around 0915 [0815 GMT] this morning, the aggressor started shelling all the civilian settlements on the free territory using all available arms and artillery pieces. Howitzer, mortar, tank, and gun shells of the most destructive calibers, fired from all the Chetnik strongholds in the surrounding hills, are destroying village houses and killing the innocent civilian population. We have no information on the injured because of the heightened intensity of shelling that is in progress as we dispatch this report. All our defense lines are strong and stable and our troops are ready to repel possible infantry attacks.

Army Reports Serb Activity on Zavidovici Front

AU0811115794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 8 Nov 94

[Report by the Press Center of the Bosna Operations Group]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nightfall was the signal for the rebel Serbs' heightened activity on the Zavidovici-Vozuca fronts. They shelled the defenders at Talambas with a Bofors gun, and they used 120-mm mortars to shell the defense lines in Zeleni Kamen and the village of Dolina. At the same time, 82-mm mortars were used against our position on (?Podsilovac). The defenders responded adequately from the stable defense lines.

The Chetniks used a launcher [not further specified], Bofors, anti-aircraft machine guns and anti-aircraft guns to indiscriminately shell the defenders and inhabitants of (?Kosove) and (?Moherci) in Maglaj Municipality.

Serb Council Urges Defiance of Mobilization Order

AU0811122994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 8 Nov 94.

[FBIS Translated Text] [Words indistinct] Canton today publicly appealed to the Serbs living in the occupied territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Council appeal states:

We call all mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters in the temporarily occupied territories of our only homeland, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to obstruct with all means available the war criminal Radovan Karadzic and his henchmen, who wish to declare all-out war against the Croatian and Bosniak Muslim neighbors, and against the Serbs living in their homeland on the free territories of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

War criminal Radovan Karadzic's idea to use genocide as a way of creating a pure ethnic state in the region of Bosnia-Herzegovina, incorporated into Greater Serbia, was doomed from the start. You must understand this. We appeal to all conscripts in the so-called Serbian Republic to refuse to obey the people leading them into crime and death. This appeal is not of a political nature, it is a humane appeal to sanity. We beseech you not to remain deaf and dumb to it, because tomorrow it could already be too late and the consequences will be even more tragic, reads the appeal of the Serbian Consultative Council of the Tuzla-Podrinje Canton addressed to Serbs living in the territories under the control of criminal Radovan Karadzic.

Akashi: Fighting Could Mean Peace Opportunities

AU0811072094 Paris AFP in English 2240 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Nov 7 (AFP)—The upsurge in fighting in Bosnia-Herzegovina could open up new "opportunities" for peace talks, UN envoy for former Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi, said here Monday. Akashi was not willing to say whether he believed the Moslem-led offensive would force the Serbs to accept the internationally-mediated peace plan they have already rejected which entails a 49 percent slice of Bosnia for them. The Serbs currently occupy 70 percent.

"I think the changing situation and circumstances may make possible what appeared even impossible at one time," said Akashi, in an apparent allusion to the possibility the Serbs could eventually relent and sign the plan. "These new developments (Moslem advances) are bringing new difficulties but also new opportunities," he added. He cautioned that with winter fast approaching, "it is important for us to prepare for the worst."

UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, attending a press conference with Akashi, matched Akashi's concerns about the "degradation of the situation on the ground" with winter approaching. He also noted "certain progress" regarding talks between the Croatia-based

Serbs and the Croats on the issue of Krajina, the Serb-held region of Croatia. Butrus-Ghali stressed the United Nations "must continue to encourage dialogue... to stop confrontation."

He added he had already gone through "different scenarios" with his staff working on ex-Yugoslavia, including peace mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg and UN commander General Bertrand de Lapresle. One such scenario is the "possible withdrawal" of UN forces "in the case of further difficulties," Butrus-Ghali said. He added there was now "excellent cooperation" between the United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which have previously quarreled over policy in Bosnia.

On October 27, both bodies agreed to leave the United Nations with the final say over procedure for air strikes against warring factions violating ceasefire accords in Bosnia.

Akashi said air strikes could be used to force a passage for relief convoys. "We would like our convoys (to get) through (with) the consent of the parties, but if it becomes absolutely necessary, (the) time may come when we have to force our way through," Akashi said.

UN General: Both Sides Involved in Firefight

AU0811100094 Paris AFP in English 0943 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, Nov 8 (AFP)—Bosnian Government and Serb forces both fired heavy mortars during a firefight in western Sarajevo Monday evening, in violation of a ban on such weapons around the capital, UN sector commander General Herve Gobilliard said Tuesday. There were at least 170 heavy weapon detonations in the course of a nearly two-hour long firefight in which at least five civilians were wounded on the Bosnian side and two soldiers on the Serb side, Gobilliard told AFP. Sarajevo hospitals said four civilians were seriously hurt in the shelling. Two French UN soldiers were also slightly wounded by a grenade explosion at one of their observation posts in another incident overnight.

Weapons fired during the firefight around the airport area included 82-mm and 120-mm mortars, both of which are banned from within a 20 kilometer (12.4 mile) radius of the capital, in line with a February agreement between the two parties enforced at the time by the threat of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) air strikes.

Gobilliard, whose staff held telephone negotiations Monday evening with both sides to obtain a ceasefire, also called in NATO fighters to overfly the battlefield in order to dampen the fighting spirit of the warring parties.

Several F-15 fighters buzzed positions in the west of the city, as they had done Saturday night when the two sides also engaged in an artillery duel. The firefight involved confrontation lines around the airport, but shells were also fired into inhabited suburbs, including Bosnian-held Dobrinja and Serb-held Ilidza.

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"The firing is getting closer" to the centre of the city, Gobilliard said. The airport's control tower also came under fire Monday evening and French UN soldiers there took to the shelters.

Asked whether NATO fighters could strike at mortars being fired in breach of the total exclusion zone agreement, Gobilliard suggested this would be very difficult. "I can't really see how we could fire at a target located in the midst of a population whose very protection is our mission," he said.

UN Officials Say Fighting Threatens Truce

AA0811130194 Paris AFP in English 1242 GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 8 (AFP)—Intense fighting between Bosnian Government and Serb forces has spread into Sarajevo, threatening a nine-month-old truce on the use of heavy weaponry in the capital, UN officials said Tuesday.

After two weeks of successful offensives by the Moslem-led government army against Serb positions in northwest and southwest Bosnia, the two sides engaged in an intense, two-hour exchange of heavy weapons fire here late Monday. There were at least 170 heavy weapon detonations in the course of the firefight in which at least five civilians were wounded on the Bosnian side, along with two soldiers on the Serb side, UN sector commander General Herve Gobilliard said.

Weapons fired included 82 mm and 120 mm mortars, both of which are banned from within a 20 kilometer (12.4 mile) radius of the capital, in line with a February shelling truce agreement between warring government and Serb forces.

"If these intense, but usually short-lived firefights develop, they would obviously have a destabilizing effect on the military situation here," UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tim Spicer said. But he said that the fighting so far was "not significant" in terms "of attacks and changes to the confrontation lines. We don't think that we've got a serious situation where the whole process around Sarajevo will unravel," he said.

Monday evening's sudden flare-up around the airport, in the western part of the city, followed an artillery duel Saturday night during which Serbs fired mortars impounded by the United Nations at two weapon collection points, in violation of a NATO-policed accord not to shell the city.

On both Saturday and Sunday, the United Nations was forced to call in North Atlantic Treaty Organisation fighters to buzz respective positions around Sarajevo and dampen the fighting spirit of the warring parties.

A few hours ahead of Monday evening's firefight, Serb forces again entered two UN-guarded weapon collection

points and, in one instance, fired one 88 mm mortar shell at an unknown target, Spicer said. The firing, during maintenance work on the weapons to which Serbs are given access, was "probably a mistake," he said. In the second incident, Serbs tried to set up several artillery pieces in ready-firing positions at another compound.

The evening firefight was mostly centred on confrontation lines around the airport, but shells were also fired into inhabited suburbs, including Bosnian-held Dobrinja and Serb-held Ilidza.

"The firing is getting closer" to the centre of the city, Gobilliard said.

The airport's control tower also came under fire Monday evening and French UN soldiers there took to their shelters. Five shells fell inside the airport perimeter, but none hit the runway.

Asked whether NATO fighters could strike at mortars being fired in breach of the total exclusion zone agreement, Gobilliard suggested this would be very difficult. "I can't really see how we could fire at a target located in the midst of a population whose very protection is our mission," he said.

The outburst of fighting around Sarajevo followed a series of victories by Moslem-led government forces against Serb positions in northwestern and southwestern Bosnia.

UN officials also reported "major military activity" Tuesday morning in the north of the country, from Dobo to the Posavina corridor, with small-scale infantry attacks by government forces and large-scale shelling by both parties.

In the west, it remained unclear whether the Serbs had launched their much heralded counter-attacks, but there was heavy shelling of Moslem-held territory by Croatian Serbs to the southeast of Bihac enclave.

In the southwest, where government troops and their Bosnian Croat allies last week captured the strategic town of Kupres, government forces Monday continued a northwesterly advance, but it appeared they were "filling a vacuum" left by retreating Serbs, Spicer said.

Serbs Monday also fired at the Moslem-held enclave of Gorazde, in the east of the country. But the UN spokesman said a build-up of Serb forces in the area appeared aimed at threatening Moslem-led troops attacking southeast of Sarajevo rather than the enclave itself.

Meanwhile in Brussels, ambassadors from Britain, German and the United States told their NATO partners late Monday that the Bosnian Serbs were "totally isolated" and unable to counter the government offensives due to a lack of fuel, NATO sources said.

Talks With Krajina Serbs Resume in Split*LD0711131994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 7 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Talks behind closed doors between groups of experts and delegations of the Croatian state authorities and the rebel Serbs from Knin started this morning at the command of the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] British battalion in Divulje near Split. Vedrana Krstic-Ivanisevic has the report.

[Krstic-Ivanisevic] This is the continuation of the talks held in Knin last week, preceding meetings in Erdut and at Zagreb's Pleso airport.

Croatia is represented by Vladimir Kramberger, assistant minister for energy and industry; and Bozo Kolega, director of the Croatian electricity grid management. The meeting is being held through international mediation and is presided over by European Union envoy Kai Eide. The delegation of the rebel Serbs from Knin, whose composition is not yet known, arrived at the Divulje military base on board a UN Viking helicopter.

This is the continuation of the negotiations on the establishment of economic relations and communications, that is, on technical details related to repair works on the high-voltage power transmission line.

'No Tangible Results'*LD0711151694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Nov 94*

[FBIS Translated Text] Talks started behind closed doors this morning at the command of UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] British battalion in Divulje near Split between groups of experts and delegations of the Croatian state authorities and the rebel Serbs from Knin. Vedrana Krstic-Ivanisevic reports on the results.

[Krstic-Ivanisevic] The talks, which lasted several hours, produced no tangible results. The basic idea was that any possible joint undertakings should help improve the power distribution networks on both sides. We agreed on that, Assistant Minister for Energy and Industry Vladimir Kramberger said.

[Begin Kramberger recording] We discussed the draft agreement proposed by the Serb side. This was presented by UNPROFOR as a point of reference. We agreed to discuss ways of making the southern section of the 400 kilovolt amp power transmission line operational. The agenda also included the issue of the reinstallation of spare parts for the generator in Obrovac.

We could not come to terms with discussing only these issues—we wanted to talk about establishing a normal power distribution network within the borders of the Republic of Croatia. For this reason our approaches differed; we managed to reach agreement on the majority of points, but not on crucial issues. As we were not authorized to discuss anything but technical details,

there was no need for us to agree or disagree. However, as these were not political talks—we had no mandate for that—we nevertheless talked within certain political frameworks, something [EU envoy Kai] Eide warned the Serb side about on several occasions. They made certain proposals that were totally unacceptable to us. [end recording]

[Krstic-Ivanisevic] The rebel Serb side was composed of Jovan Kricka, Masnikosa, Babic, and Dragas.

Krajina Serbs Deny Passage to EU Observer*AU0711170894 Paris AFP in English 1630 GMT 7 Nov 94*

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 7 (AFP)—Breakaway Serbs in the east of Croatia refused on Monday [7 Nov] to allow a senior European Union official to cross their territory, EU sources in Zagreb said.

They said the incident occurred at 10 a.m. (0900 GMT) when Joachim Paul von Stupnagel, head of the EU observation mission in ex-Yugoslavia, arrived at a checkpoint at Novska, 120 kilometres (75 miles) east of Zagreb. He was on his way to eastern Croatia and planned to pass through the territory held by the breakaway Serbs of Krajina who control a quarter of Croatia and have declared it an independent republic.

"It is a serious breach of the ceasefire agreement signed on March 29 in Zagreb by the Croatian Government and the Serb authorities in Krajina," a statement from the EU observation mission in Zagreb said. Under the agreement the mission is guaranteed freedom of movement.

There have been a series of similar incidents in recent months. Von Stupnagel was turned back another checkpoint southwest of Zagreb in July. Three days earlier a EU team was refused passage, but on that occasion by Croatian police.

Throughout July the 19 crossing points between Krajina and the rest of Croatia manned by UN forces were blockaded by refugees and displaced persons, encouraged by the Croatian authorities to protest against the perceived inefficacy of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR). Only EU observers were sometimes let through by the demonstrators.

The EU has had an observation mission in ex-Yugoslavia since September 1991, under the ceasefire agreement reached the previous month during the war in Croatia.

Serb Krajina Reports Muslim Attack on UNPA*LD0711184494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1805 GMT 7 Nov 94*

["Pool" item]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Nov. 7 (TANJUG)—The Serb Krajina army said Monday that Bosnian Muslims had attacked Serb positions in the United Nations Protected Area [UNPA] over the weekend. The source said the UNPA sector whose command was based in the Serb Krajina town of Topusko had been attacked by the Fifth Corps of the Bosnian Muslim army.

The Serb Krajina army said Serb Krajina forces had immediately responded to 'all provocative actions of the Bosnian Muslim Fifth Corps from northwestern Bosnia,' upon which the actions ceased. It said Serb Krajina forces had suffered no casualties in the attacks and were in a state of combat readiness to counter all possible attacks from the territory of western Bosnia.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed in 1991 after Croatia's forcible secession from the former Yugoslavia and the removal of the Serb national rights from the Croatian constitution. Serb Krajina has been a U.N. Protected Area since 1992.

The Bosnian Muslim Fifth Corps about twenty days ago launched a heavy offensive from the United Nations-protected 'safe area' of Bihac in western Bosnia on the Bosnian Serb Republic. About 11,500 civilians have been forced to flee their homes due to the Muslim offensive.

Bosnian Serbs Shell Towns From Bosanska Posavina

LD0711224494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Serbs launched an artillery attack this evening, targeting Zupanja, Bosnjaci, and Babina Greda from their positions in Bosanska Posavina. Ivica Janjic reports from Zupanja:

[Janjic] The attack on Zupanja is under way. The town is echoing with explosions. According to the Zupanja emergency ward no one has been injured. However large caliber shells caused fresh destruction and damage to buildings. [passage omitted]

Shell Slavonski Samac

LD0711224994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Serbs from the occupied part of Bosnian Posavina launched a new attack on Slavonski Samac at around 2100 this evening. The village, east of

Slavonski Brod, was targeted with 12 shells fired from a multiple rocket launcher. The first attack on Slavonski Samac came at 2030. No one has been injured so far.

Envoy Protests Attacks

LD0711193694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Mario Nobilo, ambassador of the Republic of Croatia to the United Nations, today sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali. He draws Butrus-Ghali's attention to the fact that Bosnian Serb units are again attacking Zupanja. Ambassador Nobilo recalls previous protests regarding attacks on Zupanja. The Croatian Government has stressed that it regards the continuation of this situation as a threat to the security and territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia, the letter says.

The current peace process and stability in the wider area are being seriously threatened by this act of aggression on the part of the Bosnian Serbs, Nobilo writes in his letter and adds that such conduct should not continue without punishment.

List of War-Crime Suspects Prepared

95P20134A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Oct 94 p 5

[Article by Zeljko Luburovic: "102 Persons on War Crime List"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] As of now, in the Zadar-Knin Zupanija 102 persons have been listed as war-crime suspects for the period from 1992 to 1994. Charges have been brought against 34 persons, 18 persons are under investigation, three cases of investigation have been dropped, and two persons have been tried in absentia.

One of them was defendant Crnobrnja, who was given a 20-year sentence for the brutal killing of a prisoner; the other, a Croat commander of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] military police at the Zemunik airport, was acquitted. His acquittal is being appealed in the Croatian Supreme Court. There is one additional Croat citizen involved in these cases. All other persons are citizens of Serbian nationality. Some cases have been turned over to the Military Prosecutor, the others are still being investigated by the police. It is expected that the number of suspects, 102, is not final. [passage omitted]

Federal**Changes in Military Training Discussed**

95BA0017A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian
11 Aug 94 pp 6-8

[Interview with Major General Djuro Dzepina, chief of the 4th Administration in the Army of Yugoslavia, by M. Pantelic and D. Petrusic in Belgrade in August: "Combat Training: Driving Force of the Army"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Responding to our request, last week Major General Djuro Dzepina, chief of the 4th Administration, with his associates, Colonels Zivorad Kostic and Petar Filipovic, visited the Vojska Publishing House and talked to editors and reporters about current issues and innovations in the system of combat training, about the technical tasks in training members of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia], about the importance of psycho-physical preparation of men and units for carrying out combat operations, about the material support for training, and about the results to date and the future course of transformation of the VJ and military schools, and so forth.

[VOJSKA] General, what is new in the system of combat training as the VJ has gone through transformation up to this point, and what has been achieved in this area thanks to the innovations?

[Dzepina] Transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia has inevitably brought about changes in the system of training. The system has defined more precisely who is to be trained, where, how, and how much; who plans and programs training and on what basis; and who monitors training and evaluates the level of training, and when and how this is to be done.

In addition, the system has defined what obligations are to be planned centrally, at the level of the VJ, and when the levels of command will be given independence in planning, organizing, and conducting training. That solution arose from the commitment to make a study, as soldiers are being trained, of the content that provides basic and specialized military training. The specific content determined by the purpose of units is covered in the second training period, and the program is developed by brigade and regiment commands with the help of corps and division commands, because they have the best insight into performance of the particular tasks assigned and the special purposes the combat training plans and programs are to accomplish.

[VOJSKA] What is the essence of professional military training in the new combat training plans and programs for men and units?

[Dzepina] Because of the needs of combat readiness, the plans and programs for combat training of men and units call for covering the general content and the specialized military content side by side, which means that units are equipped for combat use more rapidly.

A number of innovations have been envisaged in the general military subject matter, but the emphasis is on specialized military subject matter, and in evaluation of training the evaluation of that subject matter dominates the others.

The plans and programs provide considerably more time for periodic reviews, which will improve the maintenance of weapons and equipment, and extra time for going over subject matter that has not been covered or has not been covered fully enough because of objective circumstances. The subject matter in specialized military training guarantees sound training in the handling, use, and maintenance of personal and other weapons, in tactical operations and procedures of individuals and units, in performance of protective measures, and in damage control. The feeling of belonging to the collective and the tradition of patriotism are also developed, and the men are trained in the knowledge and application of rules and regulations.

[VOJSKA] To what extent has the subject matter planned for the training of officers and commands last year and this year been covered?

[Dzepina] The documents embodying the system of combat training have set uniform goals and tasks in the training of officers and commands in all structures of the VJ and at all command levels. Training is uniformly planned, organized, and carried out. The training of all structures of the VJ has been coordinated, especially that of career and reserve officers and noncommissioned officers of peacetime and wartime commands.

The transformation of the VJ made it a necessity to draft new Bases for Planning and Conduct of Combat Training of Officers, Commands, and the VJ General Staff to replace the Instruction on Training Officers, Commands, and Staffs of the Armed Forces and also to adapt their content to the new organizational solutions and needs of training.

Training is carried out through specialized military training and physical education. Compatibility has been assured in training that covers subject matter of common interest, most of the time has been left at the disposition of commands and organizational units so that they can plan specialized professional training in keeping with the requirements of positions in the formation and the tasks of units.

Every level of command is now required to plan, organize, and conduct training with subordinate commands.

Training is carried out in the form of joint training and specialized professional training. Joint training provides subject matter which must be planned and programmed for all commands and the VJ General Staff. This training principle puts emphasis at all levels of command in the process of carrying out training. On the basis of analysis and conclusions, the VJ General Staff realized that joint

training obligates all command levels to take a responsible approach to covering certain subject matter that is essential in the training of officers and commands: for example, "Preparation of Commanding Officers and Commands for Direction of Combat Training."

The purpose of specialized professional training is to equip officers and commands for special-purpose assignments. All command levels have been afforded the opportunity to independently plan, organize, and conduct training in keeping with the place and role of their unit in performance of special-purpose tasks.

[VOJSKA] What has received the most attention last year and this year in the training of officers and commands of the VJ?

[Dzepina] In 1993 and 1994, the emphasis in training officers and commands in the process of planning, organization, and conducting training has been on the practical forms of training (individual conditioning, group conditioning, drilling of specialists, group study, and staff war exercise) and on the work of officers and commands under wartime conditions.

The selective approach has been used in choosing the subject matter for training, so that for officers up to the battalion level the principal subject matter in training comes from the plan and program of combat training of men and units of the VJ, with emphasis on practical training and on terrain and other environments, while officers in the commands of brigades and higher levels have been trained by carrying out all forms of practical training with emphasis on practical and specialized professional training and on the performance of duties in peacetime and wartime.

With respect to the command of combat training, the first important steps have been taken toward equipping and increasing the responsibility of commands at all levels in the planning, organization, and conduct of combat training.

Some of the commands prepared and carried out exercises in an original way appropriate to the space and time, integrating interbranch capabilities and units.

The purpose of training officers and commands has been accomplished. Officers at all levels have been equipped for successful command in peacetime, emergency situations, and the waging of armed combat in wartime.

[VOJSKA] Could you tell us something more, General, about experiences in experimenting with drafts of plans and programs for combat training and regulations for verifying and evaluating combat training, as well as about their future application?

[Dzepina] Following a tour of units and the processing and analysis of the results obtained from a specific questionnaire about the draft plans and programs (180 for the branch or service), we realized that the results of training in units, where the training process had been

well-planned, organized, and carried out, altogether accomplish the goals for combat training that were set, and at the same time officers had shown greater independence. In the opinion of officers in units, the Regulation for Verification and Evaluation made a greater contribution than the previous one to objectivity in evaluation, and its criteria are considerably stricter.

There were several comments, for example, about the structure and quality of the Plan and Program and the new role and obligations of commands in connection with the independent planning of training in the second period and the drafting of training programs for wartime units, which the new Plan and Program and annual instructions will regulate precisely.

[VOJSKA] To what extent have the experiences from combat operations on the space of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] been integrated into the foundations of the plans and programs for combat training?

[Dzepina] Analyses of the wartime operations made by administrations of arms and services put emphasis on the importance of tactical training, training in the use of firepower, and performance of measures related to all forms of security of combat operations under diverse conditions of terrain and weather, the integration of arms in carrying out combat missions, and the psychophysical preparedness for the combat atmosphere, with pronounced emphasis on various procedures and operations adapted to the mission, to the combat conditions, and to the space.

The conclusions of these analyses were appropriately reflected in the drafting of the Bases for Drafting Combat Training Plans and Programs. All of these experiences will be put in specific form and incorporated into the appropriate subject matter of syllabi and curricula of arms and services, especially emphasizing and requiring that combat training be conducted through practical exercises, which guarantees permanence of the knowledge and skills acquired.

[VOJSKA] What is the principal content of professional military training of men and units?

[Dzepina] The principal content of professional military training is made up of the joint content of training, such as the handling, use, and maintenance of personal weapons, tactical training with infantry, engineers, NBC, and medical content, service regulations, and field-unit training; and then the specialized professional training material—the handling, use, and maintenance of weapons, materiel, equipment, and tools of the arm or service in question, tactical training of the arm or service, special regulations within the jurisdiction of the arm or service (border service, military police service, and so forth), and, finally, other activities, which would include periodical, command, and medical examinations, reserve time, verification and evaluation, and the period of adaptation.

[VOJSKA] In your opinion, and on the basis of peacetime and especially wartime experience in the past, what and how great is the importance of psychophysical preparation in combat training from the standpoint of combat action?

[Dzepina] That is an extremely important question, especially when we realize that training in the VJ must prepare soldiers for the efforts that await them in combat. It is indisputable that psychophysical training develops traits of the personality which are directly related to handling combat training in peacetime and being effective in wartime combat. In addition, the experiences gained in peacetime, and especially those gained in wartime, teach us that only a fighting man with sound mental and physical characteristics can withstand all the burdens which combat imposes on him and at the same time be effective, that is, derive the maximum from his potential when he is carrying out missions. Also, good psychophysical preparation helps the fighting man to monitor combat stress correctly, to turn it even into an advantage and to avoid the pathological manifestation of behavior in the course of combat.

Physical conditioning and stamina, together with professional military training, only round out the psychological stability of the fighting man and officer and their endurance during combat.

[VOJSKA] How and to what extent are we studying and using experiences of other armies in combat training?

[Dzepina] Under the present conditions, we are monitoring all innovations in the combat training of foreign armies, and we are making appropriate use of their experiences in building our own system of combat training. Monitoring the combat training systems in foreign armies is one of the permanent tasks, analyses are accordingly made, and corresponding solutions are proposed to the competent authorities. In this way, using our own rich knowledge and experiences and the knowledge and experience of others, suggestions are made for updating the present documents embodying the combat training system, and they are constantly being updated according to conditions and circumstances.

[VOJSKA] During the first half of the year, you headed a team of representatives of your administration in touring and checking almost all units of the Army of Yugoslavia. What were the results of your examination of operation of the combat training system in those units?

[Dzepina] After the tour and the examination of units, we realized that in the minds and methods of officers and commands at all levels, and they are those that principally carry out combat training, there was an increasingly dominant realization that unless practical training was foremost there would be no true training and no permanence of knowledge acquired, and that most units that adhered to that principle were achieving superb results in combat training of men and units. This

was particularly manifested in a large number of officers and commands. In a smaller number of officers and commands, especially of the higher combined tactical units and tactical operatives, combat training had not become the most important task as yet, at least not to the extent that is required. Exercises of basic tactical units and tactical groups in which smaller branch and arm groups had been integrated were achieving good results in combat training, and this will be practiced in the future as well.

[VOJSKA] What are the innovations in solving the problem of providing professional military literature to units and institutions of the VJ?

[Dzepina] Publishing activity was not given due importance in the initial period of transformation of the VJ. In March of this year, therefore, a professional discussion was organized concerning the place and role of publishing professional military literature. That discussion generated conclusions and tasks which gave that activity the place it deserves in keeping with the other content of the process of transformation of the VJ. Plans have been drawn up for publishing professional military literature, and schedules have been made. By the end of the year, the new Instruction for Preparation and Use of Professional Military Literature and the new Catalogue will be prepared as documents embodying the system in this area. New titles are being printed, and an analysis is being made of the present stock of professional military literature so that the present titles can be updated and supplemented and this stock can be redistributed.

[VOJSKA] The transformation has spread widely through the system of military schools. What has been the emphasis in the work of the administration you head with respect to that area?

[Dzepina] There are numerous tasks which the administration needs to perform in the area of military schools. That fact necessitates a responsible and committed approach on the part of all those concerned with the military schools. We are not overlooking the fact that the process of transformation of the military schools is still going on and that the best solutions are being found that will contribute to sounder and more optimum training of officers to meet the needs of the VJ. I would single out several tasks which the administration is emphasizing in its commitment:

- cooperation with others in the system of schooling and training of officers in preparing the draft of the Law on Military Schools and Military Scientific Research Institutions;
- development of a new organization of military schools and school centers and a dynamic plan for carrying out the transformation of military schools;
- preparation of a study on the development of military schools for the period after 1995; and
- the drafting of the Bases for Drafting Curricula and Syllabi of Secondary Military Schools and Reserve Officers Schools.

We are also preparing to take part in drafting implementing regulations after the Law on Military Schools and Military Scientific Research Institutions is adopted and on resolving other issues in the area of the military schools.

[VOJSKA] Can you tell us, General, what is essentially new in the system of military schools at this moment?

[Dzepina] The process of transformation of the VJ has also made it imperative to transform the system of military schools. The solutions set forth in the proposed version of the Law have been adapted to the needs of the present size of the VJ and should cover the new requirements in the training and advanced training of officers. An effort was made to fully integrate the system of military schools with the educational and training system in civilian society both in training officers in disciplines which they cannot acquire through civilian education and also with respect to taking people with certain backgrounds from civilian society and providing them supplementary military education.

In the proposed version of the Law, the military school system is made up of the military high school, secondary military schools, university-level military schools, schools for advanced training of professional officers, and reserve officers schools. The proposed version of the Law makes no provision for offering professional training at the junior college level.

It should be emphasized that in the present phase of transformation the military schools are organized within the Military Schools Center of the VJ and the school centers of the branches, arms, and services. Such solutions guarantee education and training of professional officers and noncommissioned officers; obligations and responsibility with respect to the length of study are borne by the VJ Military Schools Center and administrations of branches and their arms and services for the types of officers needed by the VJ or respectively by the arms and services.

The projected system of military schools guarantees that the system will operate smoothly and effectively, that officers will be trained, and that the system will be in line with the system of training and education in civilian society.

Air Defense Commanders Discuss Training
95BA0017B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian
11 Aug 94 p 13

[Article by V. Kovacevic: "Reliable Guardians of Our Sky"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a recent semiannual analysis of combat training held in the Command of the Air Defense Corps, commanders of brigades, regiments, and independent battalions confronted all the complexity of the conditions under which training is being conducted and the immense efforts people are making in units and

commands so that training reaches the level that has been set for their combat fitness. This was an occasion for them to join the Corps Command and the most responsible officers of the RV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense] Command not only in analyzing and summarizing the semiannual results of combat training, but also to emphasize once again the necessity and importance of certain changes in many segments of life and work in order to meet the requirements of transformation of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia] and above all the challenges of the present military-political situation.

Colonel Nikola Grujin, chief of staff of the PVO Corps, said in his introductory address that in this half year combat training has been planned, organized, and conducted with a view to the conduct of combat operations, with emphasis on practical forms of training and equipping commands and units for combat action under the conditions of electronic jamming. In this area, certain earlier theoretical knowledge was confirmed, but new experiences have also been gained in certain units on radar and missile systems, and this will continue to be elaborated and summarized in the coming half year.

Colonel Dragoljub Vukosavljevic, commander of a missile brigade of the PVO, a unit which in the first half of the year achieved the best results in specialized military training of officers, spoke about constructive experience in practical training and about the results in target practice, emphasizing the contribution of the most responsible officers of the brigade command, artillery division commanders, and battery commanders in organizing and carrying out training.

Colonel Milos Djosan said that in the past six months units and operational centers had detected, tracked, and processed more than 200,000 targets in airspace at approaches to and over the territory of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. This indicates an extreme strain not only on personnel, but also on equipment. At the same time, this also helped to step up the intensity and quality of training, the growth of the maneuverable capabilities of units, and the resilience of the VOJIN [Air Observation, Reporting, and Control] system as a whole. He particularly emphasized constructive experience in recruiting and training soldiers under contract, who have proven themselves to be a good solution in the duties of dispatchers and system operators and other duties.

Commanders of other units also spoke about the results of training and the problems they face. They emphasized the contribution of other structures and elements of the Corps, above all communications personnel, engineers, transportation personnel, quartermasters, and others whose commitment has made it possible to achieve the goals that were set in training.

The critical and frank discussion ranged over oversights in the effort, above all in training and in work with people; preserving and maintaining materiel; bad experience in certain units as a lesson for others; measures taken and their effect; all of this aimed at minimizing

and preventing their negative effect on the life and health of personnel and the combat fitness of commands and units as a whole.

Lieutenant Colonel Novica Stefanovic, assistant commander of the Corps for information, pointed out the results achieved and the importance of information at the present moment; he particularly emphasized the influence of the standard of living and social welfare of professional soldiers on the training and combat fitness of commands and units.

That is, more than 50 percent of the personnel of the PVO Corps does not have proper housing, and most of them are not the "traditional subtenants," but are accommodated in garrisons and other military facilities, most frequently with three or four members of a family in offices, where the living conditions are below any minimum and human dignity. A considerable number of them arrived only with a bag containing personal effects, but at the same time they successfully evacuated all the expensive equipment and military property to this territory.

Addressing this meeting of the most responsible officers of the PVO Corps, Major General Radomir Sekulic, chief of staff of the RV i PVO Command, gave recognition to all members of the Corps for the results achieved in training and fitness. He emphasized that the most important thing is for us to face the problems openly and seek solutions. In the context of the changes taking place in military organizations at the moment, fighter units are being "returned" to the PVO Corps, which will make the PVO Corps more effective and menacing, but it will certainly make it still more responsible for the security and defense of the FRY airspace.

Concluding the analysis, Colonel Slavko Biga, commander of the PVO Corps, made the assessment that the results achieved in training and combat fitness, and above all the responsibility and professionalism of personnel in carrying out the specific tasks, in spite of all the difficulties, indicate that the PVO is a reliable guardian of our sky and will continue to be so in the coming period. We have been constantly put through tests of our fitness, which is why our vigilance and caution must be maximal, especially when it comes to the PVO forces on duty—fighters, missile units, and units of the VOJIN. The assessments and observations made during the recent visit of top officials of the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia to some of our units and operational centers indicate to us that we are on the right road. Changes in our commands and units are an occasion for us to find even better solutions within the existing internal potential, but also for us to deal with ballast and the legacy of some earlier time.

Serbia

Projects Planned To Boost Kosovo Economy

LD0811103094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1001
GMT 8 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 8 (TANJUG)—Serbia will invest 10 million dinars (about 7 million

dollars) in the construction and completion of 32 economic facilities in Serbia's province of Kosovo and Metohija.

The funds have been allocated by the fund for development of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and will be used to construct or complete objects in the areas of agriculture and the machine-building industry.

The funds will be used to construct a factory of radiators and air conditioners. A stock-feed factory and a meat processing plant will be reconstructed. Several cattle farms will also be built.

Funds have also been allocated for the construction of a carpet factory and the reconstruction of several machine-building factories.

Objects whose construction has already begun and high-profit programs were given priority in getting credits for the development of this province in southern Serbia.

Commentary Views 'Rift' Among Serb Leaders

AU0711153094 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
28 Oct 94 p 7

[Commentary by Radivoje Petrovic: "Knin and Pale"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The pause in the peace process for Bosnia and the announced intention of the five diplomats of the Contact Group to search for a solution to the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia through an agreement to be reached between the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia have cast a light on the current relations between the Serbian political leaderships.

The persistent negative attitude of the Bosnian Serbs toward the peace project of the five diplomats and the hesitation of the latter to make new essential concessions in order to obtain the missing signature have triggered a series of statements and interviews during the last weeks that—as a logical excuse for the Contact Group position—have widened the diplomatic activity of international mediators to the situation in Croatia. Although this intention of "the big boys" opposes the most important document that regulates these issues—the Vance Plan and the three-stage project for the reduction of tension in Croatia—it is more interesting to see through what practical moves the Serbian leaders in the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina responded to this international diplomatic initiative.

The information that negotiations were held between the leaders of the Bosnian Serbs, led by Karadzic, and the representatives of Croatia, fell like a bombshell. According to the details of the talks, which have been neither officially denied nor confirmed, parts of Serbian territories in the republic of Serbian Krajina were offered in exchange for certain concessions in Bosnia. The anticipation that the isolated Karadzic would try to make some kind of breakthrough in negotiations was thus confirmed. The only confusing element in the whole

thing is that the Bosnian Serb leader is offering territories in exchange that he is absolutely not entitled to.

With this step, he stabbed the Muslim-Croatian federation in the back, but, on the other hand, if the information received from the negotiations is reliable, he will reach concessions for himself at a relatively low price since the check is to be paid by the Krajina. Croatia has its interests in this game because it enables it to round off its ethnic territory in Bosnia, and, what is even more important, it opens the door for a solution to the Krajina problem that is far more convenient for Croatia than the Vance Plan and the autonomy projects for the Serbs that have reached the public during the last few days.

An indirect confirmation of this information is the presence of Srpska officials at the latest session of the Krajina parliament in Knin, at which an attempt to present the hard line in the Serbian negotiating politics as the only possible alternative failed. For a long time, there have been rumors that Karadzic and Martic are closely connected, which used to be interpreted as an introductory step to the political merger of the two states in response to the firm peace policy from Belgrade, but Martic's political maneuver failed because Vojnica, the Radical Party representative, was dismissed, and because the Krajina coalition between the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] and the Radical Party broke up.

It is interesting that Karadzic announced his presence at the session in Knin, but—obviously anticipating the epilogue—he sent a deputy. The intended merger was postponed to some other time when relations between the political powers are more favorable. POLITIKA has learned unofficially that a new merger of the two states has been planned in all details, even that Karadzic would be its president and Martic its defense minister.

It need not be explained specially that this political isolation is extremely bad for the general Serbian position in the diplomatic confrontation with the international mediators. Any merger of the two states would automatically mean a breach of the Vance Plan, which is the main argument for the Serbs from the Republic of Serbian Krajina in the forthcoming negotiations. If the rules of the game, dictated by this document, are given up, the price to be paid by the population of the republic of Serbian Krajina will be very high.

It is at least confusing that the president of the republic of Serbian Krajina allows his own negotiating position to be weakened and that Karadzic does not show any

initiative for negotiations with the Muslim representatives about an exchange of territories. It is true that their leader Alija Izetbegovic has repeatedly proven that he prefers the war option to negotiations and that he cannot be trusted, but this would be the most natural way for the Serbian side to indirectly correct the maps and to return to the negotiating table.

The epilogue of the Knin parliament session ruled out the possibility that the Serbian side could make a political step in direct support of international intentions, thus solving the Bosnian problem through Croatia. That another unfolding of events would burden the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is best proven by the frequency of requirements set during the last several days that Milosevic should recognize Croatia within its borders from the days of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Domestic analysts interpret this as Karadzic's and Martic's attempt to take revenge on Belgrade—Karadzic because of the blockade on the Drina River, and Martic because of the frozen relations that followed in his contacts with the Serbian president after his transparent participation in the referendum in Bosnia.

It is obvious that the virus of Serbian division has not stopped at the Drina River; it is spreading to western Serbian regions, thus weakening the negotiating position of the Serbs and failing to make use of certain favorable moments. As was confirmed by yesterday's THE WASHINGTON POST, which is close to the U.S. administration, a softer U.S. attitude has been noticed toward the removal of the embargo and toward the possibility of a confederal connection between the Srpska republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, as a reply to the pressures regarding the recognition of Croatia, among circles close to President Milosevic, it can be heard that Knin should solve its problems through direct negotiations with Zagreb; Belgrade will help as a mediator, but the recognition of Croatia can be discussed only after the sanctions imposed by the international community have been completely lifted.

The consequences of the political rift between the Serbian leaders are, this time, minimal owing to the outcome of the session of the Krajina parliament. They are, however, a very valuable experience, since they show what can happen when national ambitions of individual leaders overlap with the intentions of international diplomacy to search for new solutions because of a standstill in the materialization of the original plans.

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